



The Aramaic Bible

• The Targums •

The Isaiah Targum

THE ARAMAIC BIBLE

• THE TARGUMS •



PROJECT DIRECTOR
Martin McNamara, M.S.C.

EDITORS
Kevin Cathcart • Michael Maher, M.S.C.
Martin McNamara, M.S.C.

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS
Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. • Bernard Grossfeld

The Aramaic Bible

Volume II

The Isaiah Targum

Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes

BY

Bruce D. Chilton



Michael Glazier, Inc.

Wilmington, Delaware

About the Translator:

Bruce D. Chilton is a Lillian Claus Associate Professor of New Testament in the Divinity School of Yale University. He holds degrees from Bard College, and General Theological Seminary and Cambridge University. Among his publications are *God in Strength: Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom*.



First published in 1987 by Michael Glazier, Inc., 1935 West Fourth Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19805.
©Copyright 1987 by Michael Glazier, Inc. All rights reserved.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Bible. O.T. Isaiah. English. Chilton. 1987.
The Isaiah Targum.

(The Aramaic Bible ; v. 11)
Translation of the Aramaic Targum of Isaiah,
which is itself a translation from Hebrew.
Bibliography: p.
Includes indexes.
1. Bible. O.T. Isaiah. Aramaic—Translations
into English. 2. Bible. O.T. Isaiah. Aramaic—
Criticism, Textual. I. Chilton, Bruce. II. Series:
Bible. O.T. English. Aramaic Bible. 1986 ; v. 11.
BS895.A72 1986 Vol. 11 221.42 s 86-45346
[BS1513] [224.1042]
ISBN 0-89453-480-7

Logo design by Florence Bern.
Printed in the United States of America.

*For E.B. and C.F.D.M.,
with gratitude.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORS' FOREWORD	ix
PREFACE	xi
INTRODUCTION	xiii
The Theology of the Isaiah Targum	xiv
Distinctions of Emphasis within the Targum's Theology	xviii
The Formation and Historical Circumstances of the Targum	xx
The Importance of the Targum for the Study of Early Judaism and of the New Testament	xxv
Early Citations and Manuscripts of the Targum	xxviii
Editions and Translations of the Targum	xxxii
The Format of the Present Volume	xxxiii
BIBLIOGRAPHY	xxxvi
ABBREVIATIONS	liv
GLOSSARY	lv
TRANSLATION, NOTES AND APPARATUS	1
INDICES	129
Index of Primary Sources	129
Index of Secondary Contributions	129
Index of Targumic Subjects	130

EDITORS' FOREWORD

While any translation of the Scriptures may in Hebrew be called a Targum, the word is used especially for a translation of a book of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic. Before the Christian era Aramaic had in good part replaced Hebrew in Palestine as the vernacular of the Jews. It continued as their vernacular for centuries later and remained in part as the language of the schools after Aramaic itself had been replaced as the vernacular.

Rabbinic Judaism has transmitted Targums of all books of the Hebrew Canon, with the exception of Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah, which are themselves partly in Aramaic. We also have a translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch into the dialect of Samaritan Aramaic. From the Qumran Library we have sections of a Targum of Job and fragments of a Targum of Leviticus, chapter 16, facts which indicate that the Bible was being translated in Aramaic in pre-Christian times.

Translations of books of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic for liturgical purposes must have begun before the Christian era, even though none of the Targums transmitted to us by Rabbinic Judaism can be shown to be that old and though some of them are demonstrably compositions from later centuries.

In recent decades there has been increasing interest among scholars and a larger public in these Targums. A noticeable lacuna, however, has been the absence of a modern English translation of this body of writing. It is in marked contrast with most other bodies of Jewish literature for which there are good modern English translations, for instance the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Josephus, Philo, the Mishnah, the Babylonian Talmud and Midrashic literature, and more recently the Tosefta and Palestinian Talmud.

It is hoped that this present series will provide some remedy for this state of affairs.

The aim of the series is to translate all the traditionally-known Targums, that is those transmitted by Rabbinic Judaism, into modern English idiom, while at the same time respecting the particular and peculiar nature of what these Aramaic translations were originally intended to be. A translator's task is never an easy one. It is rendered doubly difficult when the text to be rendered is itself a translation which is at times governed by an entire set of principles.

All the translations in this series have been specially commissioned. The translators have made use of what they reckon as the best printed editions of the Aramaic Targum in question or have themselves directly consulted the manuscripts.

The translation aims at giving a faithful rendering of the Aramaic. The introduction to each Targum contains the necessary background information on the particular work. In general, each Targum translation is accompanied by an apparatus and notes. The former is concerned mainly with such items as the variant readings in the Aramaic

texts, the relation of the English translation to the original, etc. The notes give what explanations the translator thinks necessary or useful for this series.

Not all the Targums here translated are of the same kind. Targums were translated at different times, and most probably for varying purposes, and have more than one interpretative approach to the Hebrew Bible. This diversity between the Targums themselves is reflected in the translation and in the manner in which the accompanying explanatory material is presented. However, a basic unity of presentation has been maintained.

A point that needs to be stressed with regard to this translation of the Targums is that by reason of the state of current targumic research, to a certain extent it must be regarded as a provisional one. Despite the progress made, especially in recent decades, much work still remains to be done in the field of targumic study. Not all the Targums are as yet available in critical editions. And with regard to those that have been critically edited from known manuscripts, in the case of the Targums of some books the variants between the manuscripts themselves are such as to give rise to the question whether they have all descended from a single common original.

Details regarding these points will be found in the various introductions and critical notes.

It is recognised that a series such as this will have a broad readership. The Targums constitute a valuable source of information for students of Jewish literature, particularly those concerned with the history of interpretation, and also for students of the New Testament, especially for those interested in its relationship to its Jewish origins. The Targums also concern members of the general public who have an interest in the Jewish interpretation of the Scriptures or in the Jewish background to the New Testament. For them the Targums should be both interesting and enlightening.

By their translations, introductions and critical notes the contributors to this series have rendered an immense service to the progress of targumic studies. It is hoped that the series, provisional though it may be, will bring significantly nearer the day when the definitive translation of the Targums can be made.

Kevin Cathcart

Martin McNamara, M.S.C.

Michael Maher, M.S.C.

PREFACE

When Martin McNamara informed me of plans to render the Targums in English, I was excited. When he asked me to look after the Isaiah Targum, I was thrilled. Although I had then been working with the document for some time, in connection with my study of Jesus' preaching, the opportunity to order and develop my thoughts for a translation and commentary was a timely stimulus. No scholar could ask for a more rewarding challenge than Prof. McNamara gave me, and I remain most grateful to him.

In accordance with the aims of *The Aramaic Bible* project, the present volume is designed with the English-speaking reader primarily in view. Some of the material in the Apparatus and Notes may nonetheless be of use to Aramaists and more advanced students of the Targum. Those among the last group mentioned may in any case have recourse to my earlier book, *The Glory of Israel. The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum*. The present contribution brings up to date and extends the discussion I have been concerned to develop, without superseding the detailed work of the previous study. Much of this volume was written while I was a visitor at Union Seminary in Richmond; I am particularly grateful to Patrick Miller, who was then Dean, for his arrangement of the visit, and for a research grant from Sheffield University. While this volume was being produced, I took up a position at Yale University, where two students helped to deal with the proofs. Emily Holcombe has exercised her eagle's eye, and Gay Forsstrom has prepared the indices.

Progress in theology is difficult to attain. One might imagine that one should build directly on the foundations of consensus, and extend our knowledge in that manner. But the foundation of theology is the study of texts, and the understanding of texts is prone to change. Theologians must therefore keep a wary eye on the foundations they build on, lest their castles be left in the air; every act of theological thinking should grow from the bottom up. I was tutored to appreciate the need for a critical attitude towards theological fashions in the seminars of C.F.D. Moule and Ernst Bammel, as well as under their direct supervision. They showed me how rigorous theological thinking must be; they insisted in their different ways that theology knows no consensus apart from what exegesis can deliver. I dedicate this volume to them, not as a colleague, but as an aspirant to their craft.

B.D.C.

INTRODUCTION

The Targum of Isaiah is, on first acquaintance, simply the Aramaic translation of the biblical book. “Targum”, indeed, is merely the Aramaic term for “translation”, just as “meturgeman” is the word for someone who interprets or translates. As is commonly recognized, there is no such thing as an objective or neutral translation from one language into another: the translator always—and necessarily—conveys his own understanding of what he translates. The Targum of Isaiah conveys what the meturgeman took the book of Isaiah to mean. But the Targum is not only an interpreted version of Isaiah because it is a translation from Hebrew. The meturgeman actively departed from his Hebrew original in order to express the significance of God’s address through the prophet.

Time and again, the meturgeman introduces a phrase, “the prophet said”, into his Targum. Obviously, when the translation does not depart significantly from the Hebrew text, this addition is little more than an emphatic reminder that the speaking voice of the book, as Isaiah’s, is prophetic. But the situation is often very different. The meturgeman may use the phrase when his “translation” is in fact a very free rendering of the original. In chapter five of the biblical book, for example, the Hebrew text reads, “I will sing now for my beloved a song of my love for his vineyard . . .” (v.1). The meturgeman applies this imagery as if it were allegorical, “The prophet said, I will sing now for Israel—which is like a vineyard, the seed of Abraham, my friend—my friend’s song for his vineyard . . .”. Such transformations of the Hebrew are best understood as motivated by a desire to explain the text’s intended meaning, although the reference to “Abraham” does seem a gratuitous innovation, even if the mention of “Israel” appears fairly straightforward in context. In the same chapter, we read the command: “Prophet, say to them, Behold the house of Israel have rebelled against the law, and they are not willing to repent” (v. 3a). This “translation” is innovative to the surprising extent that there is no equivalent to it in the Hebrew text. Although it may not be thought of as a pure addition (cf. the Translation and Apparatus in the present volume), the following statement, at 24:16a, b, is equally innovative:

From the sanctuary, whence joy is about to go forth to all the inhabitants of the earth, we hear a song for the righteous. The prophet said, The mystery of the reward for the righteous is visible to me, the mystery of the retribution for the wicked is revealed to me!

When the meturgeman speaks in the name of the prophet, his innovations show he does so with almost prophetic authority. Any significant departure from the Hebrew original, of which there are many, would justify this statement, but the usage of “the prophet said” suggests the meturgeman took his quasi-prophetic status quite seriously.

He specifically claims to articulate, not only what Isaiah the prophet said, but what Isaiah meant to say, or should have said. He did not claim to be a prophet himself, even implicitly, since one would have to speak directly on God's behalf, not on Isaiah's, to be considered a prophet. But the meturgeman's innovative rendering of the Hebrew text marks him as more than a "translator", or even an "interpreter", in the usual senses of those words. By his adding, deleting, inverting the order of words, and providing fresh contexts for those words, the meturgeman voiced a new message for his time.

What was that message, and in what period was it expressed? The first part of the question, which concerns the message of the Targum, should be given precedence over the second, which concerns the historical circumstances under which the Targum was produced. The Targum itself provides evidence of its own theology, while remaining silent on questions of authorship and date. Indeed, there is no unequivocal evidence in respect of the latter sorts of question: to answer them requires an understanding of the theology of the document.

The Theology of the Isaiah Targum

Certain key aspects of the meturgeman's theology have already been mentioned above. His mind is focused on "the house of Israel". His concern is for the people who have the benefit of God's promise to Abraham (5:1), and who have nonetheless "rebelled against the law" (5:3). He looks forward to a time when judgment will be revealed from "the sanctuary", as reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked (24:16).

The terms and phrases which evoke this theology, "the house of Israel", "Abraham", "the law", "the sanctuary", and "the righteous" all recur throughout the Targum. They are not isolated instances, but constitute part of the characteristic and innovative usage of the meturgeman. This becomes evident when one consults the concordance compiled by van Zijl (1979), which gives both the wording of the Targum and the corresponding formation of the Hebrew text (when there is one). It is not the purpose of the present introduction to examine characteristic terms and phrases individually or in all of their occurrences, since an earlier work undertakes such an analysis, and relates the usage of the Targum to that of rabbinic literature (Chilton [1982]). The present purpose is rather to sketch the theology of the meturgeman as a guide for the reader in encountering the Targum for the first time. But it is important to bear in mind that only the characteristic usage of the meturgeman will here be cited to describe that theology. The repeated, frequently very innovative, language of the meturgeman is the best index available of the understanding of Isaiah which he desired to convey. In the Translation, innovative language is printed in italics, to which reference may be made as passages are cited in this Introduction.

The meturgeman's understanding of Israel is dichotomous. Israel has, on the one hand, been chosen by the election of Abraham; indeed, Israel is in a position of divine privilege (28:9):

To whom was the law given, and who was commanded to apprehend wisdom? Was it not the house of Israel who were beloved more than all the peoples, and cherished more than all the kingdoms?

But there is, on the other hand, a darker side to this election, and therefore to Israel's identity. The law, which is the very seal of God's choice, has become a scandal (28:10, again, a very innovative rendering):

They were commanded to perform the law and what they were commanded they did not wish to do. The prophets prophesied concerning them, that if they repented . . . and they did not listen to the sayings of the prophets; they went in their own pleasure and did not desire to perform my pleasure; they hoped that the service of the idols would be established for them, and they did not hope for the service of my sanctuary. My sanctuary was as little in their eyes, to serve there; my Shekhinah was as little in their eyes there.

Obviously, Israel in the view of the meturgeman really is rebellious (cf. 5:3), not merely apathetic. The people actively resist the call of the law which comes from God and is voiced consistently by the prophets. They even despise the sanctuary in their preference for idolatrous worship and belittle God's own presence, his "Shekhinah" (cf. the Glossary) in the cult of the Temple. For the meturgeman, there is a critical divide between what Israel is and what Israel ought to be.

In the face of Israel's apostasy, God is far from mute. In addition to sending the prophets (cf. 28:24; 50:4) time and again, despite the negative reaction of Israel to them, he intervenes in punishing deed (57:17):

Because of the sins of their mammon, which they robbed, my anger was upon them, I smote them, removed my Shekhinah from them and cast them out; I scattered their exiles because they went astray after the fantasy of their heart.

Exile is the appropriate condition of Israel, in view of his apostasy. Just as the people are scattered from the land which was—and still is—promised to them, so the Shekhinah they despised is removed. There is nothing metaphorical about this punishment in the meturgeman's mind. The exile is actual, military defeat, and the departure of the Shekhinah involves the destruction of the sanctuary (32:14):

For the sanctuary is desolate, the multitude of the cities which were its service are devastated; our stronghold and our hiding place has been searched, now it is desolate and devastated for a time, a place that was a house of joy, a pleasure of kings, now has become a plundering of armies.

The desolate, abject condition of the people is the just result of their disobedience.

What has become of the promise to Israel through Abraham, which is such an important feature of the meturgeman's theology (cf. 48:15, 16)? In his mind, God's "Memra decreed a covenant with Abraham" (v. 15a), and he has sent this same "Memra" in the ministry of the prophet (v. 16d). The term "Memra" is used in various contexts in the Targum (cf. the Glossary), and involves so many meanings that it cannot even approximately be rendered with a single English word. Basically, it refers to God as he responds to and addresses Israel, and as such it also provides the occasion on which Israel might react. Precisely because "Memra" usage represents the intersection between God's response to Israel and Israel's to God, it is the primary means by which the meturgeman explains how God and Israel relate to one another. As he sees it, God is constant in his promise to Israel, because that promise was based on the assumption that Israel would do the law. The present condition of Israel is not only consistent with God's promise to Abraham, in a way it confirms the promise, because the punishment of Israel's rebellion is the converse of what God

desires, the blessing which comes of faithfulness. Just this logic is very clearly presented, by means of “Memra” language, in the opening chapter of the Targum (vv. 19, 20):

If you are willing and attend to my Memra, you shall eat of the good of the land; but if you refuse and do not attend to my Memra, by the adversary’s sword you shall be killed; for by the Memra of the LORD it has been so decreed.

“Memra” here is both what decrees and what Israel might accept or reject on the basis of that decree. In its aspect as the LORD’s intention, “Memra” is constant; in its aspect as the object of, and the rejoinder to, Israel’s response, “Memra” is variable. The ambivalence of the meturgeman is deliberate and necessary: he is attempting to explain how a faithful, changeless God can have chosen a fickle people whose history approximates a state of collective manic depression. The meturgeman acknowledges this state of affairs, but insists that God’s constancy is not compromised by the vicissitudes of Israel. God’s promise through Abraham remains, even if Israel’s behaviour prevents its achievement.

Terms such as “Memra” and “Shekhinah” in the Targum are frequently said to be used in order to avoid speaking of God in anthropomorphic terms. There is some validity in this generalization: the meturgeman seems somewhat uncomfortable with saying God, rather than his Memra, is rejected by the people, or that God, rather than his Shekhinah, has left the sanctuary. On the other hand, the evidence of the Targum runs against any claim to the effect that God is remote in the meturgeman’s theology. Most notably, he innovatively speaks of the “LORD” (cf. 37:4, 17, 24; 38:16; 40:10; 50:4; 53:4; 58:2; 61:1, 11; 64:4), sometimes in contexts which refer to quasi-human activity (cf. 10:12; 25:8; 28:22; 29:13; 30:20; 48:16; 49:22; 50:5, 7, 9; 52:4; 56:8; 65:13, 15). These usages make it evident that the meturgeman can conceive of God in his most personal being, as the One who is called “Yahweh” (*ywy*), as speaking, helping, sending prophets, and gathering outcasts, and also as destroying, and even killing. It follows from this observation that, when the meturgeman uses terms such as “Memra,” “Shekhinah,” and “kingdom (of God)” (cf. the Glossary), his motivation is not simply to avoid predication action directly of God. He is, after all, quite capable of doing so if it suits his purpose. Rather than being merely replacement words, designed to avoid anthropomorphism, such terms deliberately emphasize some aspect of God’s activity, be it in his word of command (“Memra”), in his availability in the cult (“Shekhinah”), or in his eschatological intervention on behalf of his people (“kingdom”).

In his analysis of the contemporary situation of Israel, then, the meturgeman defends the righteousness of God. But his defense does not confirm the status quo: for him, Israel really should behave very differently, so that the condition of God’s people might be restored. Accordingly, “repentance” is a central concern of the Targum, and the ground of the meturgeman’s concern is stated in the first chapter (v. 18a):

Then, when you return to the law, you will beseech before me, and I will carry out your request, says the LORD.

The verb “return” is indistinguishable from “repent”; only context can determine which translation should be preferred, and here Israel is called to restore his relationship to God through the law, to enact the terms of Abraham’s original vocation. It is no accident that the “Memra” usage cited above immediately follows the present verse. “Memra” and “repent” constitute co-ordinated usages by which the meturgeman, conscious of Israel’s present plight, calls for repentance throughout the Targum.

The promise to Abraham is such that, provided Israel repents, God will “gather the exiles from the east, to bring openly, like a swift bird from a far land, the sons of Abraham, my chosen” (46:11a). The promise to Abraham is sure, and—if only Israel lives up to the vocation to do the law—it will be fulfilled. Although exile is deserved by Israel, it is a condition God desires to end. The return of the exiles is to involve the military triumph of Jerusalem (56:9, cf. v. 8 for a reference to “exiles”):

All the kings of the peoples who were gathered to distress you, Jerusalem, will be cast in your midst; they will be food for the beasts of the field—every beast of the forest will eat to satiety from them.

Just as apostasy occasioned exile and defeat, so repentance—by God’s sure promise—is to bring restoration and victory.

The agent of this dramatic vindication is none other than God’s Messiah, a figure to whom an astonishing range of activity is assigned. Seated on the throne of David (16:5), he is to receive tribute from those he subjects (16:1), because “the Gentiles will be shattered before the Messiah” (10:27c). But it should not be imagined that the function of the Messiah is only military in the meturgeman’s thinking. He is to be, as Paul Humbert put it, a “holy rabbi” ([1911] 40, 41) who restores by what he teaches as well as by the victory he wins (53:5b):

and by his teaching his peace will increase upon us, and in that we attach ourselves to his words our sins will be forgiven us.

His efficacy in restoring Israel, however, has to do, not only with the correct content of his message, but also with God’s personal acceptance of his prayer. Whether he prays for the people and their sins (53:4), or against the Gentiles (53:7), he is answered. The result is that the exiles return (53:8) and he even, as an eschatological figure of judgment, “will hand over the wicked to Gehenna” (53:9). The Messiah is, for the meturgeman, at once general and teacher, intercessor and final arbiter.

The focus of much of the Messiah’s ministry is the Temple he is to restore (53:5a):

And he will build the sanctuary which was profaned for our sins, handed over for our iniquities.

It is on the strength of this restoration that the meturgeman can expect joy to proceed from the sanctuary “to all the inhabitants of the earth” (24:16; 38:11), and—conversely—that he can predict the coming of the peoples to the Temple, where God’s Shekhinah will again be found, in order to “walk in the teaching of his law” (2:3). The Messiah’s function is both physical and spiritual, precisely because restoration involves

both rebuilding and the fulfilment of divine promise. The messianic vindication which is at the heart of the meturgeman's theology is also the animating hope of the Targum as a whole.

Distinctions of Emphasis within the Targum's Theology

The sketch of the meturgeman's theology which has been offered above is not exhaustive, but it does touch upon leading ideas the Targum is designed to convey. The reader should take account of them in encountering the text; they provide a guide to the intended meaning of the document as a whole. At the same time, the reader should also be aware that, even within these leading ideas which are expressed by means of characteristic usages, distinctions of emphasis become apparent. These emphases certainly fit comfortably within the theology described, but they convey somewhat different impressions of just how that theology is to be understood.

The ministry of the Messiah, as the meturgeman sees it, has already been detailed. Even within its broad range, the following statement comes as something of a surprise (43:10a):

“You are witnesses before me,” says the LORD, “and my servant the Messiah with whom I am pleased.”

Although the Messiah is regularly an eschatological figure in the Targum, he is here something of an eternal figure. He exists already as a witness before God, without reference to his very tangible ministry of restoration. It must be stressed that this emphasis does not contradict the normal Targumic teaching; indeed, an eschatological figure is of necessity to be conceived of as pre-existent, in that he is part of the divine intention. But the interpretation of 43:10 coheres with others in the Targum which speak of things hoped for as if they were accomplished facts.

Another instance of the same phenomenon is provided by the meturgeman's language of “repentance”. As we have seen, repentance in the Targum is pre-eminently what the meturgeman demands from his audience. In the face of national calamity, it represents the only divinely sanctioned way forward, and Israel's failure in respect of repentance to the law is the very reason for that calamity. At times, another level of meaning is exploited within this theology (57:18a):

The way of their repentance is disclosed before me, and I will forgive them.

What is elsewhere urgently demanded is here described as accomplished; some are already “penitent” (v. 19, cf. 21:12; 33:13 and the Notes). As in the case of the usage of “Messiah”, we appear to be confronting a tendency to transmute hope into actuality. As examples of this sort mount up, that distinctive tendency seems all the more important for an understanding of the Targum.

Characteristic usages of the term “Shekhinah” also evince two levels of meaning, levels which are cognate with the distinction we have already encountered. Normally, the Shekhinah is viewed as despised by Israel (cf. 28:10, cited above) and removed by

God as a result (cf. 57:17, cited above), but soon to be returned by him, provided Israel repents (4:5):

And then the LORD will create over the whole sanctuary of the Mount of Zion and over the place of the house of the Shekhinah a cloud of glory—it will be covering it by day, and the dense cloud will be as a flaming fire by night; for it shall have glory greater than was promised he would bring upon it, the Shekhinah will be sheltering it as a canopy.

Alongside this clear and consistent emphasis upon the strict association between the Shekhinah and the sanctuary (an association which is depicted as abused by Israel, temporarily interrupted, but soon to be restored), there is another, less robust emphasis. Repeatedly, the Shekhinah is referred to as located in “the heavens of the height” (6:6; 32:15; 33:5; 38:14, cf. the Translation and Notes). Obviously, the Shekhinah must somewhere be waiting safely to return in order for God to restore it, just as the Messiah must already exist if he is part of God’s eternal purpose. But “the heavens of the height” phrase is used in context to stress more the inviolability than the restoration of the Shekhinah. By means of the usage, the meturgeman insists that the withdrawn divine presence is itself a seal of God’s surety and ultimate victory: whatever the conditions of life may be, the Shekhinah is abstracted from them, and therefore its efficacy is protected.

In that the association between the Shekhinah and the sanctuary house is operative throughout the Targum, the understanding of the Shekhinah as secure in the heavens also influences the meturgeman’s portrayal of the Temple. As we have seen, the sanctuary is generally considered to be desolate as a result of Israel’s “sins”, but soon to be built again by the Messiah. The statement in 6:3, therefore, where the sanctuary is located “in the heavens of the height” seems rather startling. Because Isaiah’s heavenly vision in chapter 6 is already connected with the Temple in the Hebrew text, this innovative departure is understandable, but it betrays a distinctive attitude towards the sanctuary. To claim some form of eternity for the Messiah and the Shekhinah is one thing, to claim it for the sanctuary seems quite another. One should not be too rationalistic in assessing this distinction, however. The sanctuary is never merely a building in the Targum, even though it does require messianic reconstruction: as the place of the Shekhinah, whether actually or proleptically, the Temple is possessed of a divine aspect. The point, nonetheless, is that this aspect is exploited in an unusual way in 6:3, in order to convey a sense of the present, heavenly reality of what elsewhere in the Targum could only be described as real in an eschatological sense. The present usage therefore joins the others which have been mentioned in evoking a distinct level of meaning within the characteristic terms and phrases used by the meturgeman.

Within this distinct level of meaning, there appears to be a tendency to move from anticipation to actuality in respect of God’s action as described under the categories of Messiah, Shekhinah and sanctuary. In respect of repentance, even Israel’s saving response to God is seen as already under way. But while the divine reality is secure “in the heavens of the height”, and Israel is beginning to move along the right lines in ethical terms, the condition of God’s people is nonetheless that of being “exiled to Babylon” (43:14). There is nothing unusual in speaking of the people as sent into exile, but in the present case exile seems more the status quo than a condition soon to be

ended. (For the particular oddities of the usage, cf. the Notes.) It might also be significant that, instead of the usual designation of Israel as a “house”, “congregation” is sometimes employed, as at 52:2. Although the usage is innovative, it is not a radical departure from the Hebrew text, which already directs the address to captives outside the promised land. “Congregation” would simply seem to be a Targumic term which is employed to speak of such people. But they are more on the mind of the meturgeman than on that of the authors of the Hebrew text. In the Targum, the command is given in 40:3 to prepare highways, not for “our God”, but for “the congregation of our God”. Similarly, the call is given in 57:14 to remove obstructions, not simply “from my people’s way”, but “the way of the congregation of my people”. While “house of Israel” generally implies the national existence of God’s people, whether as presently fallen into decay or as soon to be restored, the “congregation” usage frequently implies a post-nationalistic perspective, and may denote a group which requires restoration before any claim to statehood can be made.

Distinctions of emphasis among the characteristic terms and phrases which have been surveyed therefore suggest that there are two levels of meaning within the overall theological orientation of the Targum. The first level is practical and national. Within its perspective, the Messiah, repentance, and Shekhinah are all urgently desired: only their realization can bring about the restoration of the sanctuary and the return of the house of Israel from exile. The second level is more settled in outlook. Within its perspective, the Messiah and the Shekhinah already exist in God’s sight, repentance has begun and even the sanctuary is already present, albeit in heaven. Despite the theoretical existence of all that, however, there appears to be a certain acknowledgment that Israel is much more a gathered community waiting upon God than a national unit. The two levels do not contradict one another; it is just that the first is rather more eschatological than the second, and the second rather more theoretical or abstract in its understanding of divine realities than the first. What they have in common is a hope in the messianic vindication of Israel. At the first level, that hope involves the military victory of the Messiah and the actual rebuilding of the Temple. At the second level, it involves waiting for God, of whose power the Messiah is witness; God alone guards the contents of restoration in heaven.

The Formation and Historical Circumstances of the Targum

The theology of the Targum and the levels within it constitute the primary evidence on the basis of which one can fit the document into the development of early Judaism and rabbinic Judaism. By “rabbinic Judaism”, we mean the Judaism defined by professional discussion of the Torah, the law given to Moses and refined by subsequent exposition. The dominance of the rabbinic ideal of the exposition of Torah appears to have been secured from the beginning of the second century A.D. The rabbis themselves believed their ideal reached all the way back to the biblical exposition of Ezra (cf. Nehemiah 8:1-8). But until the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, there was more variety in Judaism than the adjective “rabbinic” would suggest. Teachers such as Jesus might be called “rabbi”, while deviating from the practice of exposition developed in the rabbinic academies of a later period. Moreover, the groups responsible for intertestamental

literature and the writings discovered near the Dead Sea appear to have pursued ideals of interpretation which were not rabbinic, and the priestly aristocracy had yet other ideals. The Judaism from which the rabbinic movement emerged as the dominant force was characterized by more ferment and variety than is evident in the rabbinic corpus. At the same time, it was recognizably a form of Judaism: the Bible was taken as the classic expression of God's will which required some sort of exposition. "Early Judaism", then, refers to Jewish religion between its biblical phase and its rabbinic phase.

The language of the *Isaiah Targum* does not permit us to place the document very exactly within the periods of early and rabbinic Judaism. There is a growing tendency among Aramaic linguists to claim some antiquity for it on the basis of similarities with documents from the first and second centuries A.D. (cf. Kutscher [1960] [1976]; Fitzmyer [1971] [1973-4] [1975] [1979] [1980]; Kaufman [1973]; Tal [1975]; Fitzmyer and Harrington [1978]). But the study of Aramaic dialects in respect of dating Targums is notoriously complex (cf. Chilton [1982] 7-11), and there is another understanding of their language which would place the *Isaiah Targum* somewhat later (cf. Kahle [1958] [1959] [1960] [1966]; Díez Macho [1960] [1971] [1973]; Black [1967] [1968]). Aside from the consideration that Aramaic dialects are difficult to order into a logical progression, we should mention that—whenever the Targum was produced—generations of scribes copied it until the Middle Ages, from which time extant manuscripts are available, and later. That Aramaic was not the first language of these scribes is perhaps shown by the number of Hebraisms and orthographic variants which have crept into their work. The contribution of such copyists to the actual linguistic shape of the document makes it a less than perfect witness to subtle differences among Aramaic dialects which thrived, some of them simultaneously, centuries before the extant manuscripts. Some competence in Aramaic was preserved among the learned after the Arab conquests in the seventh century, which brought a change in the commonly accepted language; even spoken Aramaic has managed to survive until our day (cf. Garbell [1965]). But although it is a virtual certainty that the language of the Targum is later than that of the book of Daniel, which was produced in the second century B.C., there is no similarly fixed end point before the Arab conquests.

In the *Talmud* (*Megillah* 3a), the Targum of the Prophets is ascribed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, who was a disciple of Hillel, a contemporary of Jesus. (On this basis, "Targum Jonathan" was the name assigned to the translation of "the Former Prophets", commonly known as the historical books of the Old Testament, and of "the Latter Prophets", that is, the Prophetic books properly so called.) The terms in which the ascription is made are most interesting, since Jonathan is said to have worked under the guidance of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the biblical prophets. Historically, of course, that is quite impossible, but the statement may be taken to illustrate in a creative way the prophetic claim which the meturgeman makes. But can the meturgeman be identified with Jonathan? Even within the uncertain world of rabbinic ascriptions, the answer would appear to be "no". *Talmud* also mentions one Joseph bar Ḥiyya, a Babylonian rabbi whose death is reckoned to have occurred in A.D. 333 (cf. Grossfeld [1971] 847), as discussing Targumic interpretation. To be sure, creativity of the sort claimed for Jonathan is not ascribed to Joseph (cf. Chilton [1982] 2, 3), but it would be unwise to dismiss this hint that later rabbis may have been involved in shaping the Targum as we know it.

Recently, the attempt has been made to assign *Targum Jonathan* as a whole to the school of Aqiba, the great teacher of the second century (Smolar and Aberbach [1983]). This is an attractive thesis, since the authors are able to document coincidences between the *Targum* and the teaching of Aqiba (pp. 1f., 129). But at times their argument is strained to the breaking point. For example, they claim that in 19:19 the reference to an altar in Egypt “established before the LORD”, rather than “to the LORD”, agrees with the possibly Aqiban teaching that the temple of Onias had no validity in respect of vows (pp. 17, 18, cf. the Notes). In fact, of course, “before” is commonly used in the *Targum* (cf. the Glossary), and it does not bear the specialized meaning attached to it by Smolar and Aberbach. More especially, v. 18 in the *Targum* refers to people in Egypt “swearing by the name of the LORD of hosts”. Obviously, the meturgeman either contradicts the allegedly Aqiban teaching, or—as seems more likely—he is quite unaware of it.

The thesis propounded by Smolar and Aberbach is further undermined by their own admission that passages in the *Targum* relate to periods after Aqiba. For example, they agree that the understanding of 44:13b accords with later interpretations of the verse (cf. p. 48 [and 80-83, 88, 120] and the Notes). Indeed, they agree to assign the exposition, not to the Tannaitic period, when “repeaters” (Tannaim) such as Aqiba taught, but to the Amoraic period, when “expositors” (Amoraim) took up the work of their predecessors. (The Tannaitic period of discourse came to a close during the second century A.D., and the Amoraim continued the tradition thereafter.) Moreover, the view which accords with the *Targum* seems to have been current among the Amoraim in Babylon, where the rabbis eventually settled, not in Palestine, where Aqiba lived. Aqiba was famous, or infamous, among the rabbis for his support of the revolt against Rome of Bar Kokhba, as a result of which it is said he died. The evident nationalism of the *Targum* may be taken to manifest a general similarity with Aqiba’s position, but this observation should be treated with caution. First of all, the relation between Aqiba and Bar Kokhba remains a matter for discussion (cf. Schäfer [1978][1981]). Secondly, there does not appear to be any support for the Bar Kokhba movement in the *Targum*. It is probably better to view the *Targum* as evidence for the sort of ethos and expectation from which the second major revolt against Rome resulted.

An even more determined attempt to root the *Targum* in the conditions of the Bar Kokhba movement has been made by Arie van der Kooij (1981). He argues (1) that the prophetic pretension of the meturgeman indicates he was a priest (pp. 198-203), (2) that the nationalism of the *Targum* focuses attention on Eleazar, the priestly associate of Bar Kokhba (pp. 204, 205), and that (3) this Eleazar is to be associated with the Tannaitic rabbi known as Eleazar of Modim (pp. 205-208), who was perhaps of priestly ancestry. At each point in this apparently logical progression, van der Kooij presses the evidence in a tendentious manner. Although there was a certain connection between prophecy and priesthood in early Jewish thought (cf. Blenkinsopp [1974]), the inference that all prophetic figures considered themselves priests, or that they had to be priests in order to consider themselves prophets, is not justified. Smolar and Aberbach (1983) 11 are able to document the rabbinic understanding that, since the destruction of the Temple, prophecy has been taken from the prophets and given to the wise. As we have seen, such a derivative notion of prophetic authority seems to be claimed by the meturgeman, without reference to any allegedly priestly lineage. As we have also seen, and will discuss further below, it is not possible to limit the exegesis of the *Targum* to

the school of Aqiba, or even to the Tannaitic period. Lastly, “Eleazar” was a common name among the rabbis. That those who bore the name were of priestly descent is possible, and perhaps one of them is to be identified with Bar Kokhba’s colleague (cf. van der Kooij [1981] 205 n. 150), but the identification remains unproven.

Van der Kooij’s thesis is not only overly specific in attempting to identify the meturgeman; it is also designed to refute the idea that the Targum grew out of the practice of translating scripture in synagogues (p. 209). He takes it to have been promulgated by Eleazar for usage in such a setting, however. In arguing this point of view, van der Kooij is consciously staking out a new position in the face of an established consensus (p. 188). The coherence of many passages in the Targum with rabbinic ideology was established by Geiger (1928) and Churgin (1927); since the writing of van der Kooij’s thesis, which was completed for submission at Utrecht in 1978, further examples have been adduced (Chilton [1982]; Smolar and Aberbach [1983], and cf. the Notes in the present volume). The evidence is all but irrefutable that the Targum is to be understood as a translation intended for reading in synagogues which was produced with rabbinic participation. To this extent, the rabbinic ascription of translational activity to Jonathan ben Uzziel and Joseph bar Hyya appears to be warranted.

Jonathan and Joseph, however, are far distant from one another in both space and time. Is it plausible to argue that the Targum as we know it emerged substantially over the rabbinic generations between first century Palestine and fourth century Babylon? The classic contribution of Pinkhos Churgin (1927) was intended to show precisely that such a prolonged period of formation must be reckoned with. He cited 28:1 (pp. 23, 24, cf. the Notes) as alluding to the period before the destruction of the Temple, and 21:9 (pp. 28, 29, cf. the Notes) as instancing an allusion to Jewish life in Sassanian Babylon. The Notes in the present volume give many more examples of references to conditions in both the Palestinian and Babylonian phases of the Targum’s emergence. Such examples evince a picture which coheres with the correspondence of the Targum to Tannaitic (Palestinian) and Amoraic (Babylonian) interpretation. (Some of these correspondences have already been mentioned; many more are cited in the Notes, and in Chilton [1982].) Van der Kooij (1983) 191, 192 and, more dogmatically, Smolar and Aberbach (1983) xxvii discount Churgin’s argument for an Amoraic phase of the Targum’s development, but they do so without considering his case in detail. They also do not consider (inevitably, in the case of van der Kooij) further evidence developed in a later monograph (Chilton [1982]). Churgin was well aware that the range of correspondences between the Targum and rabbinic interpretations of the Prophets does not permit of any easy identification of Jonathan and Joseph as the authors of the Targum ([1927] 16). Nonetheless, Churgin’s analysis of the emergence of the Targum as a Tannaitic and Amoraic document—which remains the best foundation for critical study—can claim a certain affinity with the picture which is conveyed by the Talmudic ascriptions.

In our description of the levels of meaning within the overall theology of the Targum, we distinguished between the national, eschatological perspective of one level, and the more settled, theoretical orientation of another. The first appears to suit the Tannaitic phase of the Targum’s development, and the second its Amoraic phase (cf. Chilton [1982] and the Notes). But the development of the Targum was not such that it is possible to discern actual sources within the work. Some of the

chapters appear in their present orientation to reflect more the Tannaitic level of thinking (in the Notes, cf. 7, 11, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 42, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 64, 65), and some more the Amoraic level (in the Notes, cf. 13, 18, 21, 32, 33, 37, 39, 43, 44, 47, 51, 59). As the listing within parentheses suggests, runs of interpretation—especially within the Tannaitic phase—coincide with both levels of meaning. On the other hand, in some cases both levels seem to be represented within the final forms of chapters (in the Notes, cf. 10, 11, 34, 48, 54, 57, 58, 60, 63, 66), and often the levels are in such close proximity, and penetrate each other to such a degree, that to speak of discrete source documents would appear to be inappropriate.

The two levels of meaning that have been described are both expressions of the significance of Isaiah, and each contributed to the coherent, but variegated, theology of the Targum. To speak of distinct editions within the document, rather than of sources, would perhaps be more helpful. At both the Tannaitic and Amoraic phases, current interpretations of Isaiah were obviously gathered together, and ordered into the paraphrase which we know as the Targum. But it is impossible to know whether a complete Targum was produced at the Tannaitic phase, and reworked at the Amoraic phase, or whether both phases were partial affairs, and only formed a coherent whole when they were brought together. The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable, in that much of the material in the Targum coheres with the general theological orientation of the document, but is not easily assigned to either of the two levels (in the Notes, cf. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 20, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 45, 46, 56, 61, 62). Such unassigned material is so substantial that it seems incautious to posit a complete edition (or editions) prior to the document we have before us. In a loose sense, a process of compiling material within the Tannaitic and Amoraic phases might be called “editorial”, but to speak of literary editions superimposed, the later on the earlier, might be misleading.

A variety within the circumstances referred to by the Targum in its two levels can be discerned, and this also militates against imagining that the levels correspond to fixed literary editions. (In all the instances cited below, cf. the Notes and Chilton [1982].) Within the Tannaitic level, the Temple is normally viewed as having been desolated, as we have seen, and 29:1-3 presents a graphic allusion to the successful Roman seige. On the other hand, 22:15-25; 28:1-4, in their attacks on the priestly hierarchy, appear to assume there is still a Temple to dispute over. While 25:2 is directed to a period when there was some threat that a heathen shrine might be built in Jerusalem, a threat which eventuated in A.D. 136, 65:4 laments the building of a city by Herod Antipas (in the first century) on the site of an old cemetery. The existence of interpretative strata within the Tannaitic level therefore seems plain. Such strata are less apparent within the Amoraic level, largely because its period is not characterized by traumatic events of the sort which confronted earlier interpreters. Nonetheless, 43:14 and 57:19, for example, correspond to different strands of Amoraic opinion.

By taking into consideration the interpretative levels (and strata within those levels) which have been described, the rabbinic ascriptions of authorship, the language of the Targum, its allusions to various historical circumstances, and recent critical discussion, it is possible to arrive at a consistent picture of how the Targum took shape. During the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods, it would appear, rabbis developed an interpretative translation of Isaiah. Successive generations took up the

work of earlier interpreters until the coherent Targum we can now read emerged. Individual passages, in their coherence with Rabbinica, intertestamental literature, and the New Testament, and in their allusions to historical circumstances, may be datable to a considerable extent. But taken as a whole, the Targum better represents an interpretative ethos than a single historical period. Accordingly, to speak of the "meturgeman" who was responsible for the Targum is to refer to generations of (mostly anonymous) interpreters. Their collective work is coherent, but attention should also be paid to the particular message which the meturgeman of a given passage might develop in his translation. That message might be seen as representative of the general theology of the document, of a particular level or stratum within it, or it might appear to be quite unusual.

*The Importance of the Targum for the Study
of Early Judaism and of the New Testament*

The Isaiah Targum, along with most of the Targums, occupies an important place within Rabbinica. Generally speaking, rabbinic literature consists of discussion among professional teachers, and it is designed for professional teachers. In the case of Mishnah (and Talmud), that discussion focuses on the correct regulation of corporate and individual life. In the case of Midrash, the discussion is developed by means of reference to scripture. In the main categories of rabbinic literature, there is a great variety of regulative teaching (halakhah) and narrative teaching (haggadah), and a deliberate joy in comparing, contrasting, and adjudicating among different points of view. Above all, rabbinic literature is an incentive to further study and reflection upon the issues and interpretations it treats of. The specific attribution of opinions to named rabbis is frequently—and understandably—taken with some reserve by scholars, but there is practically no doubt that the rabbinic academies which were founded after A.D. 70 were the source of the discussions in rabbinic literature.

As compared to this wealth of material, the Isaiah Targum may at first sight appear rather thin. Rabbis are not named; in fact, readings in the Targum can only be associated with rabbinic teaching by inference. The very nature of the Targum as a translation, however free, implies that some ideas were, as it were, overruled by the Hebrew original, even though they might have been dear to the meturgeman. On the whole, the Targums are only of secondary importance as sources of professional, rabbinic thought. But it is precisely their position in the penumbra of the academies which makes the Targums interesting. They were intended, not so much for study in academies, as for reading in synagogues. The rabbis countenanced the reading of more than one Aramaic translation in certain cases (cf. *Megillah* 21b), although they insisted the meturgeman should speak from memory, in order to avoid confusion between the translation and the written text in the popular mind (cf. *Megillah* 32a). Although the rabbis attempted to control the Targums used (cf. *Kiddushin* 49a), they also consulted with the populace to arrive at the phrasing they recommended (cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 79.7). In other words, we owe the existence of written Targums, including the Isaiah Targum, to the diligent attempt of the rabbis to discipline the practice of synagogue worship. But what they sought to discipline was in its origins a

folk practice: the delivery of unwritten targums on an ad hoc basis. It is therefore not surprising that even extant Targums sometimes do not accord with rabbinic teaching as we otherwise know it (cf. Chilton [1982] 4, 5). The Targum informs us much more than any other sort of rabbinic literature about the understanding of Isaiah which ordinary attenders at synagogues might have shared.

The insight which the Targum offers into devotional, as distinct from professional, Judaism is all the more valuable because in its Tannaitic phase it reflects developments in the period before and immediately after A.D. 70. The academies which gave us the bulk of rabbinic literature were not constituted until after the destruction of the Temple, and the literature itself was not produced until the second century and later. The ethos of early Judaism, which can largely only be inferred, is less of a mystery in view of the Targum. Particularly, the Targum is something of a bridging document between intertestamental literature on the one hand, and *Rabbinica* on the other. Similarities with the intertestamental corpus are cited in the Notes, but reference might be made here to Tobit 13:10; 14:5, where hope for the glorious rebuilding of the Temple is expressed, and to the critical attitude toward the contemporary cultic order in the *Damascus Document* (cf. Davies [1982]). The Targum, of course, is possessed of an ambivalent attitude to the Temple, which corresponds partially to both of the sources cited. The evaluation of the Temple in early Judaism is a matter for further scholarly discussion, but it is evident that the Targum ought to have a place in that discussion. Indeed, early Judaism generally will probably be better understood as the place of the Targums within it comes better to be appreciated.

Of the documents of early Judaism, the New Testament is among the most difficult to assess. Assessment is difficult because the New Testament belongs both to the early Jewish world and to the world of Hellenism. At the point of origin we encounter a rabbi named Jesus who drew on the conceptions of his religious environment in order to develop a fresh message about God, and to act on that message in a notably eventful ministry. But the force of his activity was such that, within a generation, we find his followers discoursing about him in Greek, and using the conceptions of Hellenistic popular philosophy in order to do so.

A treatment of the sayings of Jesus which appear to be related to the Isaiah Targum is offered in a separate volume (Chilton [1984]); those passages, and other possible points of contact between the New Testament and the Targum are cited in the Notes. Owing to the nature of the New Testament's formation, the most evident coincidences with the Targum appear in sayings of Jesus. Examples include Jesus' reference, in Mark 4:12, to Isaiah 6:9, 10. Jesus' "citation"—which by any standard is very free—appears closer to the Targumic version of the passage than to what is presented in the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Old Testament. Similarly, Jesus' famous statement concerning those who take up swords (Matthew 26:52) may allude to the Targumic form of Isaiah 50:11, and the identification of Gehenna in Mark 9:48 as the place "where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched" (cf. Isaiah 66:24) accords with the interpretation of the Targum. Jesus' proverb, "in the measure you measure it will be measured to you" (Matthew 7:2; Mark 4:24), finds an echo in the Targum, as well (27:8). Examples of this sort help to substantiate the finding that the Targum in its Tannaitic level reflects Jewish traditional thinking in the first century A.D. They should also be appreciated by students of the New Testament as clues to the meaning and impact of Jesus' teaching.

From the point of view of studying the New Testament, the early Jewish understanding of Isaiah is itself of considerable importance. Isaiah is the biblical book most frequently cited in the New Testament, and there are certain themes expressed in the Targum which correlate with central motives in the theology of Jesus and his followers. "The kingdom of God" was the fundamental element in Jesus' preaching (cf. Matthew 4:17, 23; 9:35; Mark 1:15; Luke 4:43), and the Targum also evinces a theology of the kingdom (cf. 24:23; 31:4; 40:9; 52:7; Chilton [1978] [1979] [1984] 58-63). There are important distinctions, of course, between the meturgeman's theology and Jesus'. In the former, the kingdom is to be revealed on Mount Zion particularly (24:23; 31:4) as part of the eschatological vindication the prophets will announce (40:9; 52:7). In the latter, the kingdom knows no geographical restriction (cf. Matthew 8:11, 12; Luke 13:28, 29), and is sufficiently present to be acted upon in Jesus' own ministry (cf. Matthew 12:28; Luke 11:20). Such distinctions remind us that there is no question of a simple correlation between Jesus' beliefs and the meturgeman's; they were both too creative to permit of the facile equation of the two, and it must be borne in mind that Jesus represents a period of early Judaism which is represented by the Targum in only a partial way.

The idea of Israel's rejection of the prophets is prominent in the Targum (cf. 28:10, 11, for example), and it also appears in Jesus' preaching (cf. Matthew 23:29-32, 34-37; Luke 11:47-51; 13:33, 34). But Jesus portrays the reaction against the prophets as more violent than the meturgeman does; the meturgeman may perhaps have softened a rather extreme early Jewish motif (cf. O.H. Steck [1967]). The association between the holy spirit and prophecy in the Targum appears to be typical of early Judaism (cf. 40:13; Schäfer [1972]; Chilton [1982] 48-52), and seems to have been shared by Jesus (cf. Mark 12:36, where prophetic authority is ascribed to David). Indeed, Jesus' own claim to the spirit (cf. Luke 4:18, where he cites Isaiah 61:1) may to some extent rest upon the supposition that the spirit is essentially a prophetic gift (cf. Dunn [1980] 129-162). Even the more elaborate teaching of Paul may owe something to the early Jewish association of the spirit with prophecy (cf. 1 Thessalonians 5:19, 20 and Davies [1977] 177-226). The question whether Jesus wished to be thought of as the (or a) Messiah remains open (cf. Matthew 16:15f.; Mark 8:29f.; Luke 9:20f.), largely because the precise meaning of the term appears to have been developed flexibly in his time (cf. de Jonge [1966]). But the Targumic portrait of the Messiah as a prayerful teacher, not merely a victorious leader (cf. 52:13-53:12), may help to explain why some, at least, came to see the forceful rabbi from Nazareth in messianic terms.

The milieu and theology of early Judaism remain to be defined and explained by scholars, both scholars of Rabbinica and scholars of the New Testament. Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity emerged from a common religious origin and went their separate ways. Sometimes, those ways have been catastrophically divergent. But the animus of the past is not a sufficient excuse not to confront the common challenge of the present. Rabbinic theology and Christian theology share their origins in early Judaism, and neither can be fully appreciated without reference to their shared matrix. There is still a tendency among Christian writers to assume uncritically that Jesus and his followers departed from Judaism, as if the only point of Jewish religion was to be superseded by something else. To approach the question in this way is to reduce early Judaism to a mere foil. There is some rhetorical impact to be enjoyed in

describing Jesus as transforming a religious system which is characterized as legalistic. (Who, after all, will want to defend legalism?) But documents such as the Targum witness eloquently to the living vitality which the Jewish people discovered in a relationship to God ordered by the law. Whatever the rhetorical advantage of reducing their religion to legalism, it has no place in critical discussion. It impoverishes our understanding of Christian origins, and is a travesty of Jewish religious thinking. But impoverishment is also the result of trying to force early Judaism into the mould of later, rabbinic theology. Those who claim that anything which departs from rabbinic norms is deviant, be it Jesus' teaching, the understanding of the covenant at Qumran, or intertestamental eschatology, introduce an anachronistic standard. The Isaiah Targum is evidence for the greater diversity of early Judaism as compared to rabbinic Judaism. From both a Jewish and a Christian perspective, an analysis of early Judaism is an urgent priority, and requires from us all something of a fresh start. The Isaiah Targum is only a part of the evidence to be considered, but it is time for common consideration to begin.

Early Citations and Manuscripts of the Targum

Zacharias Frankel (1872) 10, 11 ascribed the authorship of Targum Jonathan to Joseph bar Hiyya, the rabbi of the academy of Pumbeditha in Babylon. The close connection between Joseph and the Isaiah Targum in its presently extant witnesses is undeniable. In Pesahim 68a, Joseph is said to have rendered Is. 5:17, "and the righteous shall possess the possessions of the wicked"; his rendering not only betrays the same interpretative tendency of the Targum in its signal departure from the Hebrew text, but employs precisely the same words (in the same order) as appear in the Targum. There are indeed only slight syntactical differences between Joseph's rendering and the Targum, in that "possessions" appears with the pronominal suffix, and *d* appears before "the wicked". Within Aramaic usage, Joseph's version is the more idiomatic, but there is no question of a substantive difference between the two renderings. In fact, given the different textual histories of the Talmud and the Targum, their coincidence here is striking. The crucial point in favour of Frankel's suggestion (which has had several supporters, cf. Churgin [1927] 13 and Strack [1972] 128) is that the text of Pesahim 68a prefaces the rendering, "as R. Joseph translates" (*kdmtrgm rb ywsp*). On the face of it, Joseph is to be identified as the meturgeman of the Targum.

Consideration of a second passage, however, leads to a more cautious appraisal. In Sanhedrin 94b, the following translation of Is. 8:6 is given in Joseph's name:

Because this people despised the kingdom of the house of David which leads them gently as the waters of Shiloah that flows gently, and are pleased with Rezin and the son of Remeliah ...

Word for word, this rendering corresponds to the extant Targum, with only orthographic variation. Although the departure from the Hebrew text is not as striking as in the previous case, the fact of verbatim agreement over a longer run of material should be taken seriously. But for precisely that reason, the introduction to the reading in Sanhedrin 94b is all the more significant:

R. Joseph said, But for the Targum of this verse, I would not know what it says.

Quite evidently, “the Targum” is for Joseph an extant guide to meaning, not his own composition. Calling attention to these and similar passages (one of which [cf. *Rosh Hashannah* 23a] is ascribed to Rab, not Joseph), Churgin (1927) 15 concluded that the Targum was merely cited by Joseph, and that its attribution to him betrays ignorance of the actual author.

Our discussion has already put in doubt any conception of Targumic authorship as the work of a single individual. Rather, a continuum of principal tradents appears to stretch from the first century into the Amoraic period; it is in this context that Joseph properly belongs. Although Churgin wisely discounted the view that Joseph authored the Targum, he may have been excessively skeptical in dismissing attributions to Joseph as the result of ignorance. Joseph seems to have been aware of Targumic tradition, and to have used it in discussion. His name appears consistently enough in connection with specifically Targumic renderings of the Prophets generally to suggest, in association with the evidence already cited, that an Isaiah Targum much as we can read today was taking shape, or had already taken shape, during his life. Because Joseph was blind (cf. *Baba Kamma* 87a, cf. *Shabbath* 109a), his Targum was oral for him, whether or not it had been committed to writing, and the evidence is not sufficient to discount the possibility that the Targum may have been fluid enough to have been influenced by Joseph’s interpretative activity. Joseph therefore appears at the stage when the Aramaic Targum was nearing its final form, but before its attestation as a textually fixed document.

As is regularly the case in the study of rabbinic literature, the dates of extant witnesses lag far behind the final evolution of the Targum. The editions of Sperber and Stenning, as well as the concordance compiled by van Zijl (1979), take the British Museum manuscript numbered 2211 as the base text of the Targum. As described by Stenning (p. xxviii), the manuscript gives the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Latter Prophets in alternative verses, and is dated 1475. Despite its lateness, study of the witness, together with the variants presented by other witnesses, confirms the decision to accord it pride of place. Although the Targum can here be studied in comparison with the Hebrew text, B.M. 2211 tends not to harmonize its readings with the Hebrew text as the other witnesses do, and it is apparent that such harmonization was the besetting sin of scribes of the Targum. B.M. 2211 generally presents the Targumic innovation of and departure from the Hebrew text, and it does so with stylistic and grammatical consistency. On the other hand, there are occasions on which B.M. 2211 presents grammatical mistakes, stylistic infelicities, or harmonizations.

Such instances generally become apparent when one compares the manuscript to two others, B.M. 1474 and B.M. 1470. Stenning (p. xxviii) tentatively dates B.M. 1474 to around 1589, but this dating is based on the possibility that the scribe is the same as that of another document of that year. Nonetheless, B.M. 1474 is a good second best to B.M. 2211 when judged on the criteria stated above. B.M. 1470 contains *haptaroth*, that is, Prophetic lections which were to follow readings from the Pentateuch in the course of worship in synagogues. Because some of the lections were repeated during the liturgical year, they are sometimes repeated in the manuscript, and on some of these occasions, variants appear (cf. Sperber, p. vi and [IVB; 1973] 141). B.M. 1470 is therefore difficult to characterize textually, and—of course—it does not include the

whole of the Isaiah Targum; for these reasons, it is not taken as the primary text, despite its relatively early date (1484, as reported by Stenning, p. xxviii). Three further manuscripts collated by Stenning and sometimes noted in the present volume include two from the Bodleian (2617 and 2618) and one from the Bibliothèque Nationale (1325); they are not dated, and apparently were not consulted by Sperber. On the other hand, Sperber—in contrast to Stenning—did consult the manuscript of the Jews' College, which he dates to 1486 (cf. [IVB; 1973] 139, 140). As he observes, however, the scribal practice evidenced in the manuscript makes it more noteworthy than reliable.

The oldest known manuscript of the Isaiah Targum, which contains all of the Prophetic book, is the Codex Reuchlinianus, which is dated 1105 (according to Sperber [IVB; 1973] 140, 141). Unfortunately, however, this witness is characterized by textual oddity, and on the principal that a witness is first of all to be judged by the quality of its text, not its date, scholars have tended to regard its readings as secondary. The manuscript contains a number of expansive additions which do not accord with the style of the Targum, either in content or wording. Such expansions are regularly found in the margin of the manuscript itself, not in the main text, and they appear to belong to a variant recension of the Targum. The relative lateness of the text type of the Codex Reuchlinianus, when compared with that of the manuscripts usually taken as primary, is suggested not only by the observation of its oddity, but also by the consideration that the earliest authors to cite the Targum in literary sources do not normally attest the expansive material of Reuchlinianus. The sources of quotations collected by Sperber include works by Dunash ben Labrat (tenth century), Yonah ibn Ganah (eleventh century), Nathan ben Jehiel (whose *Aruk* was completed in 1101), Rashi (who died in 1105), and David Kimhi (who died in 1235). But it must be stressed that the relationship of the Codex Reuchlinianus to the text type normally considered primary remains a matter for investigation. Sperber himself points out (pp. ix, x) that the authors he cites attest a variety of readings, and that sometimes they were bewildered by the variety of options available. (The modern reader may also have recourse to further witnesses, some of which are listed by Sperber and Stenning.) Moreover, some of the editions of the authors' works consulted by Sperber may have been influenced by a later Targumic textual type, for example that of the Rabbinic Bibles (cf. below); the relevance of such authors, as well as the place of Reuchlinianus in the development of the Targumic tradition, must be regarded as a pressing question. Nonetheless, B.M. 2211 has provided critical scholarship with a relatively stable working base, and it may be regarded as the best (albeit relative and provisional) index of the best text of the Targum. It is only relatively so, because it may be corrected in respect of grammar, style, and harmonization with reference to B.M. 1474, 1470, Bodleian 2617, 2618, Bibliothèque Nationale 1325, and Reuchlinianus (when the last witness does not appear aberrant in its text form). It is only provisionally so, because the questions posed by Reuchlinianus and citations by medieval authors remain to be resolved. Within those limitations, however, a fairly straightforward criticism of the Targumic text on the strength of B.M. 2211 may be recommended.

Editions and Translations of the Targum

The first printed edition of the Targum Jonathan is that of the First Rabbinic Bible (1515-1517), which is frequently—but not always—supported in its readings by the Second Rabbinic Bible (1524, 1525). Despite the proximity in time of these editions to the manuscripts mentioned above, their text is not regarded as sound. Secondary and unsubstantiated changes are constantly introduced (cf. Sperber [IVB, 1973] 138), usually in the interests of accommodation to the Hebrew text, and the result on occasion is the appearance of Hebraism. The same observation may be offered in respect of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1569-1573, cf. Sperber [IVB; 1973] 142), although this edition contains readings which are sometimes independent of the earlier two. Nonetheless, all three of these editions from the sixteenth century were in a position to benefit from manuscripts which are no longer extant, and for this reason they have normally been taken seriously as witnesses to the text of the Targum, at least when their readings are not accommodations to the Hebrew text.

The same cannot be said of the polyglot of Bishop Brian Walton (1657), which simply reproduces the text of the Sixth Rabbinic Bible (1618, 1619; cf. Sperber [IVB, 1973] 141). But Walton also provided a translation of Targum Jonathan into Latin, which has served translators since both as a preliminary treatment and a repository of the learning of seventeenth century Semitists. Basing his own work partially on Walton's, C.W.H. Pauli provided a translation of the Isaiah Targum alone in 1871, which was designed for use in missionary work among Jews. Despite its tendentious purpose, Pauli's translation amounts to an enduring contribution to scholarship. His translation in itself, of course, was quite useful in stimulating interest in the Targum. The phrasology of the Authorized Version shines through his rendering, although he was willing to depart from it. This gives his work a certain attractiveness, even when—as sometimes happens—the construction of the meaning of the Aramaic text suffers as a result. But Pauli's greater contribution probably lies in another direction. He diligently collated the various printed editions of the Targum which followed in the wake of the Rabbinic Bibles. These editions, the majority of them polyglot, are not merely slavish imitations; they sometimes evidence substantial variants in the text. Because Pauli's mind was concentrated on the task of writing a coherent translation of a single biblical book, he recognized the stylistic oddity of some of these variants and was inclined to describe them as interpolations into the text. In considering these readings as secondary, Pauli anticipated the policy of the two great editions of the twentieth century which will be described below. (The term “interpolation”, however, has been shown to be less accurate than “recension”, for reasons discussed in the last section.) Although the work of Stenning and Sperber has superseded his in matters of detail, Pauli perhaps influenced the procedure of his successors, and his work is a clear demonstration that printed editions of the Targum cannot be ignored by those who are interested in the development of its text.

Some of the variant material identified by Pauli as secondary is apparently derived by the polyglot editions from the Codex Reuchlinianus, which was published by Paul Lagarde in 1872. Sperber offered some trenchant criticism of Lagarde's scholarly practice ([IVB, 1973] 18, 19, 140, 141), but his work was a great incentive to text critical activity, most of all on the part of Sperber himself. Once it was shown that the earliest manuscript available did not agree with the text of the Rabbinic Bibles, which was

previously taken as standard, it was obvious that the textual restoration of the Targum was an urgent task for scholarship.

The Isaiah Targum was the first candidate for textual restoration, at the hands of J.F. Stenning, who began work forty years before the publication of his edition and translation (1949). Stenning prints extracts from Lagarde's edition of *Reuchlinianus* in an appendix, but he bases his text primarily on the British Museum manuscripts. At the time he began his project, these manuscripts had only recently been acquired by the British Museum, although extracts had already been published (cf. Stenning, p. v). Stenning was particularly interested in the superlinear pointing of these authorities, which he, along with contemporary scholars and also recent investigators, held to be prior to the sublinear system, which approximates to that of Hebrew. Indeed, his work in this regard may be considered a systematic application of Dalman's then recent proposals in respect of Aramaic grammar. Text critically, Stenning established the pre-eminence of B.M. 2211, both by collating other manuscripts against its readings, and by printing its readings even when it is contradicted by other witnesses which offer readings he himself considered more plausible. (Stenning does from time to time correct B.M. 2211, but he attempts to keep such changes to a minimum.) Stenning's programmatic faithfulness to B.M. 2211 on text critical grounds occasionally stands in conflict with his interpretative decisions. Sometimes he follows other witnesses in his understanding of what the Targum means, even though his text continues to follow B.M. 2211 (cf., for example, 57:10); in such cases, of course, reference to his apparatus will resolve the apparent inconsistency between the facing Aramaic and English pages. Stenning's translation is a more direct rendering of the Aramaic text than is Pauli's, and he is less influenced by the wording of the Authorized Version. Nonetheless, he wrote in the conventional style of biblical translation in his time (in which, for example, the second person singular and plural pronouns are distinguished, and the older endings of second and third person singular forms are retained in verbs). The impact of his style is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Revised Version, although in fact his translation is a fresh piece of work, and is certainly more innovative (as compared to the Authorized Version) than the Revised Version. Stenning tends from time to time to shape his translation of the Targum according to his understanding of the Hebrew text, but that is perhaps an inevitable tendency when one confronts obscure statements in Aramaic.

No modern scholar has been more closely identified with the textual study of the Targums than Alexander Sperber. He began work on a fresh edition of Targum Jonathan in 1924; starting with a collation of the First Rabbinic Bible with the Codex *Reuchlinianus* (cf. Sperber [IVB, 1973] 18, 19), he proceeded to collect manuscript evidence in the most systematic fashion to date. As in the edition of Stenning, he took B.M. 2211 as his basic text, which he corrected only in cases of obvious error. The glory of his edition is its apparatuses. On each page, Sperber indicates which of the manuscripts and printed editions he consulted presented readings for that page. With recourse to this list, the reader is able to infer that the witnesses so listed agree with the printed text, unless attention is called to them in the apparatuses which follow. The enormous dedication necessary to carry out this policy puts an extremely useful instrument in the reader's hands: it is possible in Sperber's edition to trace the tendencies of individual witnesses over a run of material, or at particular passages. Below the list, Sperber sets out variations of pointing and spelling, which are of moment to the

study of the linguistic complexion of witnesses, and to the investigation of Aramaic phonology, morphology, and orthography. There follows an apparatus containing consonantal variants. This is the most crucial apparatus for most students of the Targum, since (in addition to certain differences in spelling) substantive variants are included here, frequently involving alteration of wording, omission, or expansion. (The additions of the Codex Reuchlinianus, for example, may be traced in this apparatus.) Lastly, Sperber's edition cites quotations of the Targum by medieval authors which present possibly variant readings.

The difficult circumstances which attended Sperber's research are alluded to in the "Forward" to his last volume ([IVB, 1973] xiii-xv); he did not live to see its publication, as is laconically, but movingly, noted by the publisher. That Sperber's edition largely supersedes Stenning's is not open to question, most of all because Sperber's apparatuses are so systematically set out. (In Stenning's edition, one cannot trace the tendencies of witnesses, and the sorts of evidence categorized by Sperber are placed in a single apparatus, together with Stenning's own suggested alterations and occasional comments.) But Sperber's work is not free of typographical error, for which Stenning's might serve as a corrective, and Stenning did consult texts which Sperber did not (some of which remain difficult to identify). These two modern editions therefore belong side by side in the critical study of the Isaiah Targum, and—even on the supposition that B.M. 2211 will continue to serve as the basic text—there is good cause to encourage further textual inquiry.

The Format of the Present Volume

This book is designed for those who are beginning Targum study, and provides material for those who have already progressed somewhat. Beginners will have recourse first of all to the Translation, and the Notes are intended to help orient them in the message conveyed by the Targum in its two levels. Students with recourse to Aramaic will perhaps require remarks of a linguistic and textual nature; such comments are made in the Apparatus. Additional material for more advanced students is also offered in the Notes, to help relate the exegesis of the Targum to intertestamental documents, Rabbinica, and the New Testament.

THE TRANSLATION adheres to the requirements of the overall project in presenting the innovative wording of the Targum in italics, while the more straightforward rendering of the Hebrew text by the meturgeman is presented in roman type. In order to facilitate comparison with the Hebrew text among those who may not be fluent in Hebrew, the Revised Standard Version has been followed as much as possible. Where the RSV offers an acceptable translation of the Hebrew and Aramaic texts, its wording and punctuation, as well as its division into chapters and verses, have been incorporated. (Proper nouns are also given in the forms familiar to English-speaking readers, even when the Aramaic terms differ from their Hebrew counterparts.) At times, however, the meturgeman construes the Hebrew text reasonably, but in a way different from that of the RSV, and in these instances roman type is employed even though the English rendering must depart from the RSV. The translation of innovative passages in the Targum is deliberately rather more literal than the style of the RSV is in translating the Hebrew text; the intention is to give innovative material stylistic, as well as typ-

graphical, emphasis. In any case, students with an elementary knowledge of Aramaic will perhaps require a translation which is more easily related to the base text than the RSV is, at least in innovative passages. Idiomatic features of the Aramaic text, such as the use of the preposition “before” in unexpected contexts, and of the determined state (which approximates to the usage of the definite article in English, but is far more common), are also rendered when possible. In all, the reader should be able to gather, with or without a knowledge of the base languages, some sense of the translational style and flavour of the Targum.

THE APPARATUS takes up from the Translation in presenting rather more technical remarks on the Targum and its relation to the Hebrew text. When Aramaic words and syntax are difficult to construe or notable, additional information is given. There is also explanation of the use of some of the italics in the Translation. The decision to italicize or not is not always straightforward; it frequently involves judging when translation shades into interpretation. Much more could be said regarding the use of italics, but many remarks of that sort have had to be removed out of considerations of space. The Apparatus also instances verbal play on the part of the meturgeman, for example when he exploits new meanings in the Hebrew form involved, uses a cognate form with a different meaning, or subtly alters the spelling or vocalization of words. (An excellent list of the verbal characteristics of the meturgeman’s translation in respect of the Hebrew text is offered by van der Kooij [1981] 175-181.) Comments of this sort are sometimes couched in terms of Aramaic and Hebrew grammar. But, where possible, language which might be more easily understood by those who are not Semitists has been employed. Aramaists might legitimately object, for example, to aphel forms being described as causative, and to the determined state being taken to equate to the use of the definite article. But it is hoped this somewhat loose vocabulary will make the Apparatus more accessible to beginners, without corrupting those who are more advanced.

The decision to follow B.M. 2211 as the basic text of the Targum is explained in the sections on the manuscripts, texts, editions, and translations of the Targum. The advantage of such a procedure is also that it facilitates comparison with the Aramaic editions of Stenning and Sperber. There are, however, occasions when the scribe has made grammatical or stylistic mistakes, or has harmonized the Targum with the Hebrew text. These instances are noted in the Apparatus, and corrected. The corrections suggested are generally offered on the basis of one or more of the manuscripts or early printed editions which have already been mentioned.

The presentation of the textual evidence by Sperber (to whose more exhaustive edition precedence is given) and by Stenning is the basis of the present volume. Errors have, inevitably, crept into their texts and apparatuses; those which might mislead more advanced students have here been corrected. (Instances of serious error in van Zijl’s concordance, whether in respect of the text, the analogous Hebrew form, or the citation of passages, are also corrected.) Stenning’s translation has so frequently been departed from that all departures have not been noted. The reasons for departure from Stenning will usually be plain to Aramaists, but where serious question remains in respect of the rendering of the passage, Stenning is cited, along with the major dictionaries and relevant secondary literature.

The Hebrew text presupposed by the meturgeman is basically the standard, which came to be known as the Masoretic Text (cf. van der Kooij [1981] 181, 214-220). Very

occasionally, the Apparatus indicates where a somewhat different Hebrew text is presupposed. (Stenning [1949] xvii-xix is more ready to make such suggestions; in the present volume, they are only made after the possibility that the meturgeman has deliberately departed from his Masoretic-like text has been considered.) Readings of the Septuagint, along with its variants and those of related recensions, are also cited, both to assist in describing the Hebrew text the meturgeman rendered and to help define the exegetical profile of the Targum. In the Apparatus, the term "text" is generally used of the Targum and the Masoretic Text; "witnesses" and "manuscripts" refer to the documents collated by Sperber and Stenning.

Particularly difficult formations are cross-referenced to previous and successive occurrences in the Apparatus. But comments in respect of forms which appear generally, and of the overall tendencies of witnesses, are often restricted to earlier occurrences in the Targum. Those who wish to pursue those matters further may have recourse to van Zijl's concordance and to Sperber's edition.

THE NOTES require less comment, as they are intended for more general consumption. The beginner is intended to read the Notes as a guide to the ways in which the theology of the Targum is developed chapter by chapter. In addition, difficult expressions and allusions to historical circumstances are explained. When a passage seems to belong to one of the two levels of meaning within Targumic theology, that is noted, and reasons for the assignment to the level in question are given. Examples of the coherence of the Targum with intertestamental literature, the New Testament, and Rabinica are also provided, and reference is made, when relevant, to discussion in the secondary literature. The beginner will not at first be able to take in all of this material, but more expert students will require it.

Immediately before the Translation, we have placed the BIBLIOGRAPHY, which is not exhaustive, but lists the works consulted as well as the most important contributions which relate to the study of the Targum. In making the final compilation of entries, the assistance of Hilary Robb and Clare Walter was most useful. Their help in compiling the entries was part of their work within the Department of Information Studies at Sheffield University. The bibliography is followed by an explanation of the scheme of ABBREVIATIONS used in the volume, and a GLOSSARY that sets out the meaning of words which may be unfamiliar to the English-speaking reader.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Editions, Lexica, and Aids

W. Bauer (with W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, F.W. Danker), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979)

P. Blackman, *Mishnayoth* (New York: Judaica Press, 1964 [seven volumes])

F. Brown, *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Lafayette: Associated Publishers, 1980)

W.G. Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati*: Yale Judaica Series 18 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968 [two volumes])

C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1895)

S. Buber, *Pesikta, die älteste Hagada, redigirt in Palästina von Rab Kahana* (Lyck: Silbermann, 1868)

J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (Leipzig: Schaefer, 1869)

R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913)

J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. I Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983)

G.H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1967)

_____, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch and Aramäische Dialektproben* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960)

Department of Near Eastern Studies, *Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies* 1- (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1978-)

A. Diez Macho, *Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinense Ms. de la Biblioteca Vaticana* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968-1979 [six volumes])

_____, *Targum to the Former Prophets: Codex New York 22a* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1974)

I. Drazin, *Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy. An English Translation of the Text with Analysis and Commentary* (New York: Ktav, 1982)

I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino, 1961 [eighteen volumes])

_____, *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino, 1963-)

J.W. Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum* (New York: Ktav, 1968)

J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: Biblica et Orientalia 18* (Rome: Biblical Pontifical Institute, 1971)

_____, and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts: Biblica et Orientalia 34* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978)

J.T. Forestell, *Targumic Traditions and the New Testament. An Annotated Bibliography with a New Testament Index: Society of Biblical Literature Aramaic Studies 4* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1979)

H. Freedman, *Midrash Rabbah* (London: Soncino, 1939 [ten volumes])

G. Gesenius and A.T. Hoffmann, *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1847)

M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan [Thargum Jonathan ben Uziel zum Pentateuch] nach der Londoner Handschrift* (Berlin: Calvary, 1903)

B. Grossfeld, *A Bibliography of Targum Literature: Bibliographica Judaica 3, 8* (New York: Ktav, 1972, 1977 [two volumes])

E. Hatch and H. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897)

H.S. Horovitz and I.A. Rabin, *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael* (Jerusalem: Bamberger and Wahrman, 1960)

M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Jerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Pardes 1950 [two volumes])

M.L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch, According to their Extant Sources*: Analecta Biblica 76 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980)

E.E. Knudsen, *A Targumic Reader. Texts from Onkelos and Jonathan*: Semitic Study Series 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1981)

K.G. Kuhn, *Sifre zu Numeri*: Tannaitische Midraschim 3 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1959)

P. de Lagarde, *Prophetae Chaldaicae* (Leipzig, 1872)

J.Z. Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1976 [three volumes])

C. Levias, *A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained in the Babylonian Talmud* (Westmead: Gregg, 1971)

J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (Köln: Melzer, 1959 [two volumes])

H.G. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)

G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958)

W.F. Moulton and A.S. Geden, *A Concordance to the Greek Testament* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1963)

National Council of Churches of Christ, *The Holy Bible. An Ecumenical Edition* (New York: Collins 1973)

P. Nickels, *Targum and New Testament. A Bibliography together with a New Testament Index* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967)

T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966)

C.W.H. Pauli, *The Chaldee Paraphrase on the Prophet Isaiah* (London: London Society's House, 1871)

J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967)

D. Rieder, *Pseudo-Jonathan. Targum Jonathan ben Uziel on the Pentateuch copied from the London Ms.* (Jerusalem: Salomon, 1974)

M. Schwab, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1960 [six volumes])

A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1959-1973 [five volumes])

J.F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949)

W.B. Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950)

H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus. The Jewish War II, III: The Loeb Classical Library* (London: Heinemann, 1968, 1976)

B. Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (London: 1655-1657)

J. Weingreen, *A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959)

D. Winton Thomas, *Liber Jesiae: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Würtembergische Bibelanstalt, 1968)

J. Ziegler, *Isaias: Septuaginta XIV* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1939)

J.B. van Zijl, *A Concordance to the Targum of Isaiah: Society of Biblical Literature Aramaic Studies 3* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979)

II. Secondary Literature

M. Aberbach, "Patriotic Tendencies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets," *Hebrew Abstracts* 15 (1974) 89, 90; cf. *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies* 6 (1977) 1-6

P.R. Ackroyd, Review of Stenning (1949), *Congregational Quarterly* 28 (1950) 72, 73

P.S. Alexander, "The Rabbinic Lists of Forbidden Targumim," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 27 (1976) 177-191

_____, Review of Levey (1974), *Journal of Semitic Studies* 20 (1975) 264-266

R.A. Aytoun, "The Servant of the Lord in the Targum," *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1921-2) 172-180

W. Baars, Review of Grossfeld (1972), *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975) 124-128

W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten. I Von Hillel bis Akiba* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965)

_____, "Gegenbemerkungen und Nachträge das Prophetentargum betreffend," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1875) 319, 320

_____, "Isaie, LIV, 7," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 44 (1902) 283-285

_____, "Kritische Untersuchungen zum Prophetentargum. Nebst einem Anhange über das gegenseitige Verhältniss der pentateuchischen Targumim," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 28 (1874) 1-72

_____, "Notes on the critique of the text to the Targum of the Prophets," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11 (1899) 651-655

H. Balz; "phobeomai," *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament III* (ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983) 1026-1034.

E. Bammel, "The Poor and the Zealots," *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (ed. E. Bammel and C.F.D. Moule; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 109-128

W.E. Barnes, "The Targum on the later Prophets," *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1926-7) 283-285 and 29 (1928) 331-333

M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967)

_____, "Aramaic Studies and the Language of Jesus," *In Memoriam Paul Kahle: Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft Beihefte 103* (ed. Black and G. Fohrer; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968) 17-28

J. Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974) 239-262

J. Bonsirven, Review of Stenning (1949), *Biblica* 31 (1950) 417, 418

E. Martínez Borobio, Review of van der Kooij (1981), *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39 (1982) 631-635

J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature. An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)

J.W. Bowman, "The Term Gospel and its Cognates in the Palestinian Syriac," *New Testament Essays. Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson* (ed. A.J.B. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) 54-67

G.H. Box, "The Idea of Intermediation in Jewish Theology: A Note on Memra and Shekinah," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 23 (1932-3) 103-119

L.H. Brockington, Review of Stenning (1949), *Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1950) 88, 89

_____, "Septuagint and Targum," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 66 (1954) 80-86

J.-J. Brierre-Narbonne, *Exégèse targumique des prophéties messianique* (Paris: Geuthner, 1936)

W.H. Brownlee, "The Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 7 (1956) 169-186

_____, "The Wicked Priest, the Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher—The Problem of Identity," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 73 (1982) 1-37

F.F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972 and Basingstoke: Pickering and Inglis, 1982)

M. Burrows, "The Origin of the Term 'Gospel,'" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 44 (1925) 21-33

B.D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible. Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time*: Good News Studies 8 (Wilmington: Glazier, 1984), also published with the subtitle, *Jesus' own interpretation of Isaiah* (London: SPCK, 1984)

_____, *The Glory of Israel. The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum*: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements 23 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1982)

_____, *God in Strength. Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom*: Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt (Monographien) 1 (Freistadt: Plöchl, 1979)

_____, "John XII 34 and Targum Isaiah LII 13," *Novum Testamentum* 22 (1980) 176-178

_____, "Regnum Dei Deus Est," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 31 (1978) 261-270

P. Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets*: Yale Oriental Series—Researches XIV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927/New York: Ktav, 1983)

J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*: Society of Biblical Literature Dissertations Series 13 (Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974)

C.H. Cornhill, "Das Targum zu den Propheten," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 2 (1887) 177-202

G.J. Cowling, "New Light on the New Testament? The Significance of the Palestinian Targum," *Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin* 51 (1968) 6-14

D. Daube, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter," *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (E.G. Selwyn; London: Macmillan, 1947) 467-488

P.R. Davies, "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982) 287-301

W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (London: SPCK, 1977)

M. Delcor, "Le Targum de Job et l'araméen du temps de Jésus," *Exégèse Biblique et Judaïsme* (ed. J.-E. Ménard; Strasbourg: Faculté de Théologie Catholique, 1973) 78-107

L. Delekat, "Die Peschitta zu Jesaja zwischen Targum und Septuaginta," *Biblica* 38 (1957) 185-199, 321-335

J.R. Diaz, "Palestinian Targum and New Testamentum," *Novum Testamentum* 6 (1963) 75-80.

A. Díez Macho, "La Christología del Hijo del Hombre y el uso de la tercera persona en vez de la primera," *Scripta Theologica* 14 (1982) 189-201

_____, "Fragmento de una nueva recensión del Targum Jonatán ben 'Uzziel a los Profetas (T.-S.B. 12.1)," *Sefarad* 16 (1956) 405-415.

_____, "Manuscritos babilónicos de la Biblia procedentes del Yemen," *Augustinianum* 9 (1969) 427-454

_____, *Manuscritos hebreos y arameos de la Biblia. Contribución al estudio de las diversas traducciones del texto de Antiguo Testamento: Studia Ephemerides "Augustinianum"* 5 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum", 1971)

_____, "A New Fragment of Isaiah with Babylonian Pointing," *Textus* (1960) 132-143.

_____, "Un nuevo Targum a los Profetas," *Punta Europos* 3 (1956) 141-159.

_____, "Un nuevo Targum a los Profetas: Ms. E.N.A. 2476, f.5," *Estudios Bíblicos* 15 (1956) 287-295

_____, "The recently discovered Palestinian targum: its antiquity and relationship with the other targums," Congress Volume, Oxford 1957: Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1960) 222-245

_____, Review of Sperber (1973), *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 6 (1975) 217-236

_____, "Un segundo fragmento del Targum palestino a los Profetas," *Biblica* 39 (1958) 198-205

_____, *El Targum. Introducción a las traducciones aramaicas de la Biblia* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972)

_____, "Le Targum palestinien," *Recherches de science religieuse* 47 (1973) 169-231, cf. Ménard (1973) 15-77

_____, and J.A.G. Larraya, "El Ms. 4083 ff. 1-11 de la Biblioteca Nacional y Universitana de Estraburgo. Un largo fragmento del Targum de Jonatán ben 'Uzziel del texto babilónico," *Estudios Bíblicos* 19 (1960) 75-90, 361-368

L. Diez Merino, "Reseña del estado de las cuestiones; notas a una bibliografía targumica," *Sefarad* 36 (1976) 353-380

D. Dimant, "Targum Jonathan to Isa. XVI. 6 and Jer. XLVIII.29f.," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 18 (1973) 55, 56

J.A. Draper, "A Targum of Isaiah in 1QS III, 2-3," *Revue de Qumran* 11 (1983) 265-269

S.R. Driver and A. Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters* (New York: Ktav, 1969 [two volumes])

J.D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making. A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM, 1980)

J.A. Emerton, "Some New Testament Notes. II 'Good news' in Syriac," *Journal of Theological Studies* 11 (1960) 332-334

C.A. Evans, "The text of Isaiah 6, 9-10," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (1982) 415-418

J. Faur, "The Targum and Halakha," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 66 (1975) 19-26

J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Language and the Study of the New Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980) 5-21

_____, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," *New Testament Studies* 20 (1973-4) 382-407

_____, "Methodology in the Study of the Aramaic Substratum of Jesus' Sayings in the New Testament," *Jésus aux Origines de la Christologie* (ed. J. Dupont; Gembloux: Duculot, 1975) 73-102

_____, Review of Black (1967), *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 (1968) 417-428

_____, *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 25 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979)

D. Flusser, "Jewish roots of the Liturgical Trisagion," *Immanuel* 3 (1973-4) 37-43

_____, "Sanktus und Gloria," *Abraham unser Vater. Juden und Christen im Ges-*

präch über die Bibel. Festschrift für Otto Michel (ed. O. Betz, M. Hengel, P. Schmidt; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 129-152

Z. Frankel, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*: Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars (Breslau: 1872)

_____, "Zu dem Targum der Propheten," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 21 (1872) 192

I. Garbell, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan. Linguistic Analysis and Folkloristic Texts*: Janua Linguarum (The Hague: Mouton, 1965)

A. Geiger, Review of Frankel (1872), *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 10 (1872) 198-201

_____, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums* (Frankfurt am Main: 1928)

A.M. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur—Talmud und Midrasch*: Studia Judaica 5 (Berlin: de Gruyeter, 1969)

D.W. Gooding, "On the Use of the LXX for Dating Midrashic Elements in the Targums," *Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1974) 1-11

R.P. Gordon, Review of Sperber (1959, 1962), *Jewish Quarterly Review* 63 (1974) 314-421

_____, "The Targumists as Eschatologists," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977: Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 23 (1978) 113-130

_____, "Terra sancta and the Territorial Doctrine of the Targum to the Prophets," *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible. Essays in Honour of E.I.J. Rosenthal* (ed. J.A. Emerton, S.C. Reif; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 12-31

M. Goshen-Gottstein, "Die Jesaia-Rolle im Lichte von Peschitta und Targum," *Biblica* 35 (1954) 51-71

P. Grelot, "Deux Tosephtas targoumiques inédites sur Isaïe LXVI," *Revue Biblique* (1972) 511-543

_____, "L'exégèse messianique d'Isaïe, LXIII, 1-6," *Revue Biblique* 70 (1963) 371-380

_____, "L'interprétation messianique d'Isaïe 9, 5 dans le Targoum des prophètes," *De la Torah au Messie. Mélanges H. Cazelles* (ed. J. Doré, P. Grelot, M. Carrez; Paris: Desclée, 1981) 535-543

_____, *Les Poèmes du Serviteur. De la lecture critique à l'herméneutique*: Lectio divina 103 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1981)

_____, "A propos d'une Tosephta targoumique," *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973) 363

_____, "Le Targoum d' Isaïe, X, 32-34 dans ses diverses recensions," *Revue Biblique* 90 (1983) 202-228.

B. Grossfeld, "The Targum to the Prophets." *Encyclopedia Judaica* 4 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971) 846-848

R.H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel. With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope: Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1967)

V. Hamp, *Der Begriff "Wort" in den aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen. Ein exegetischer Beitrag zur Hypostasen-Frage und zur Geschichte der Logos-Speculation* (München: Filsner, 1938)

J.R. Harris, "Traces of Targumism in the New Testament," *Expository Times* 32 (1920-21) 373-376

C.T.R. Hayward, "The Holy Name of the God of Moses and the Prologue of St. John's Gospel," *New Testament Studies* 25 (1978-9) 16-32

_____, "Memra and Shekhina: A Short Note," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 31 (1980) 210-213

_____, *Name and Presence. The Memra*: Oxford Centre Postgraduate Hebrew Studies (Totowa: Allanheld, Osmun, 1981)

_____, *The Use and Religious Significance of the term Memra in Targum Neofiti I in the light of the other Targumim* (Oxford: D. Phil., 1975)

H. Hegermann, *Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum, und Peschitta: Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie* 56 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1954)

P. Humbert, "Le Messie dans le Targoum des Prophètes," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 43, 44 (1910, 1911) 420-447, 5-46

B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, "The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 36 (1985) 33-60

J. Jeremias, "geenna," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* I (ed. G.W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 657, 658

_____, (tr. F.H. Cave, C.H. Cave), *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (London: SCM, 1969)

M. de Jonge, "The Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus," *Novum Testamentum* 8 (1966) 132-148

P.E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959)

_____, *Masoreten des Ostens. Die ältesten punktierten Handschriften des Alten Testaments und der Targume* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1966)

_____, "Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum und das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 (1958) 100-116

A. Kaminka, "Talmudische Bibelexegese im Targum Jonathan," *Das jüdische Literaturblatt* 21 (1892) 184, 185

S.A. Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93 (1973) 317-327

M.L. Klein, *Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Targumim of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1982 [Hebrew])

_____, "Converse Translation: A Targumic Technique," *Biblica* 57 (1976) 515-537

_____, "The Preposition *qdm* ('Before'). A Pseudo-Anti-Anthropomorphism in the Targums," *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1979) 502-507

_____, "The Translation of Anthropomorphisms in the Targumim," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980: Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 32 (1981) 162-177

K. Koch, "Die Drei Gerechtigkeiten. Die Umformung einer hebäischen Idee im aramäischen Denken nach dem Jesajatargum," *Rechfertigung. Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann* (ed. J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann, P. Stuhlmacher; Tübingen: Mohr, 1976) 245-267

_____, "Messias und Sündenvergebung in Jasaja 53—Targum. Ein Beitrag zu der Praxis der aramäischen Bibelüersetzung," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 3 (1972) 117-148

_____, "Offenbaren wird sich das Reich Gottes. Die Malkuta Jahwās im Profeten-Targum," *New Testament Studies* 25 (1978-9) 158-165

Y. Komlosh, "The Aramaic Translation of the Book of Isaiah," *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Abstracts of Papers-Bible Studies* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1965) 39, 40

_____, "The Aramaic Translation of the Book of Isaiah as a Commentary," *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* 1 (1967 [Hebrew]) 75-78, cf. 257, 258

_____, *The Bible in the Light of the Aramaic Translations*: Bar Ilan University Series of Research Monographs 12 (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1973 [Hebrew])

_____, “*drkym bpršwt šl trgwm yšhw*,” *Sefer S. Yeivin* (ed. S. Abramski; Jerusalem, 1970) 289-302

_____, “The Etymological Basis of Certain Translations in the Targum Jonathan to the Twelve Prophets,” *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages* (1980 [Hebrew]) 159-165; cf. *Tarbits* 37 (1967 [Hebrew]) 15-23

A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*: Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 35 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1981)

H. Kosmala, “Matthew xxvi 52—A Quotation from the Targum,” *Novum Testamentum* 4 (1960) 3-5

E.Y. Kutscher, “Aramaic,” *Encyclopedia Judaica* 3 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971) 259-287

_____, (tr. M. Sokoloff), *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*: Bar Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1976)

_____, “Das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 51 (1960) 46-54

M. Lambert, “Notes exégétiques. Variantes du Targoum des Prophètes,” *Revue des Etudes Juives* 48 (1904) 273, 274

R. LeDéaut, “The Current State of Targum Studies,” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4 (1974) 3-32

_____, “Les études targumique: Etat de la recherche et perspectives pour l'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 44 (1968) 22-32

_____, “Goûter la calice de la mort,” *Biblica* 43 (1962) 82-86

_____, (tr. S.F. Miletic), *The Message of the New Testament and the Aramaic Bible*: Subsidia Biblica 5 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1982)

_____, “Un phénomène spontané de l'herméneutique juive ancienne: le 'targumisme',” *Biblica* 52 (1971) 505-525

_____, Review of Komlosh (1973), *Biblica* 55 (1974) 563-569

_____, Review of Levey (1974), *Biblica* 56 (1975) 421-424

_____, Review of José Ribera Florit, *Biblia Babilónica—Profetas posteriores (Targum)*, *Biblica* 59 (1978) 136-138

_____, Review of Tal (1975), *Biblica* 58 (1977) 114-117

_____, "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4 (1974) 243-289

_____, "La tradition juive ancienne et l'exégèse chrétienne primitive," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuse* 51 (1971) 31-50

S.H. Levey, "The Date of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets," *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971) 186-196

_____, *The Messiah: an Aramaic Interpretation. The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum*: Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 2 (New York: Hebrew Union College, 1974)

E. Levine, "The Biography of the Aramaic Bible," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92 (1982) 353-379.

_____, "La evolución de la Biblia aramea," *Estudios Bíblicos* 39 (1981) 223-248

J. Maier, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Judentums im Altertum*: Grundzüge 40 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981)

B. Malina, "Matt. 2 and Isa. 41:2-3, a Possible Relationship?" *Studium Biblicum Franciscum* 17 (1967) 291-303

J.L. Malone, "Juncture in the Aramaic Verb of the Onkelos and Jonathan Targums," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31 (1972) 156-166

D. McCarthy, "Vox bsr praeparet vocem evangelium," *Verbum Domini* 42 (1964) 26-33

W.D. McHardy, Review of Stenning (1949), *Hibbert Journal* 48 (1949-50) 190-192

M. McNamara, "Half a Century of Targum Study," *Irish Biblical Studies* 1 (1979) 157-168

_____, *Targum and Testament. Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972)

_____, "Targumic Studies," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28 (1966) 1-19

_____, "'To prepare a resting place for you.' A Targumic Expression and John 14:2f.," *Milltown Studies* 3 (1979) 100-108

B. McNeil, "The Quotation at John XII 34," *Novum Testamentum* 19 (1977) 22-33

J.-E. Ménard, *Exégèse Biblique et Judaïsme* (Strasbourg: Faculté de Théologie Catholique, 1973)

M.P. Miller, "Targum, Midrash and the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 2 (1971) 29-82

G.F. Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology. Memra, Shekinah, Metatron," *Harvard Theological Review* 15 (1922) 41-61

M.J. Mulder, Review of Komlosh (1973), *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1974) 78-80

D. Muñoz León, *Dios-Palabra. Memra en los targumim del Pentateuco*: Institución San Jerónimo 4 (Granada: Santa Rita—Monachil, 1974)

_____, *Palabra y Gloria. Excursus en la Biblia y en la Literatura Intertestamentaria: Verbum Gloriae* 4 (Madrid: Instituto "Francisco Suárez", 1983)

_____, *Targum, Derash, Berith. In Memoriam de Prof. Alejandro Díez Macho* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985)

J. Neusner, "Babylonian Jewry and Shapur II's Persecution of Christianity from 339 to 379 A.D.," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 43 (1972) 77-102

_____, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*: Studia Post-Biblica 9, 11, 12, 14, 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1969, 1970 [five volumes])

T. Nöldeke, Review of Frankel (1872), *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1872) 828-834

H. Ott, "Um die Muttersprach Jesu; Forchungen seit Gustaf Dalman," *Novum Testamentum* 9 (1967) 1-25

H. Parzen, "The Ruah HaKodesh in Tannaitic Literature," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 20 (1929-30) 51-76

C. Perrot, "Le Targum," *Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses* 62 (1977) 219-230

K. Petráček, "Zur neuaramäischen Sprachforschung," *Archiv Orientali* 50 (1982) 248-250

W. Popkes, *Christus Traditus. Eine Untersuchung zum Begriff der Dahingabe im Neuen Testament*: Arbeiten zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 49 (Zürich: Zwingli, 1967)

1 *Bibliography*

E. Porada (tr. J.R. Weiland), *Iran Ancien. L'art à l'époque préislamique: L'Art dans le Monde* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1963)

F. Rosenthal, *Die Aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden: Brill, 1939)

O. Rankin, Review of Stenning (1949), *Scottish Journal of Theology* 3 (1950) 437, 438

G. Reim, "Targum und Johannesevangelium," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 27 (1983) 1-13

M. Rese, "Überprüfung einigen Thesen von Joachim Jeremias zum Thema des Gottesknechtes in Judentum," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 60 (1963) 21-41

J. Ribera Florit, *Biblia Babilónica—Profetas posteriores (Targum)* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1977)

_____, "Elementos communes del Targum a los Profetas y del Targum Palestinense," *Simposio Bíblico Español* (ed. M. Fernandez Marcos, J. Trebolle Barrera, J. Fernandez Vallena; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1984) 477-493

_____, "La exégesis rabinica postbíblica reflejada en la versión aramea de los Profetas," *El Olivo* 11 (1981) 61-85

_____, *El Targum babilónico a los Profetas* (Barcelona: Ph.D., 1974)

J.W. Rogerson, *Anthropology and the Old Testament: Growing Points in Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978)

E.R. Rowlands, "The Targum and the Peshitta Version of the Book of Isaiah," *Vetus Testamentum* 9 (1959) 178-191

H.H. Rowley, Review of Stenning (1949), *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 6 (1949) 159, 160

L. Sabourin, "The Memra of God in the Targums," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 6 (1976) 78-85

S. Safrai and M. Stern (eds.), *The Jewish Peoples in the First Century 2: Compendia Rerum Iudaicorum ad Novum Testamentum* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976)

E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism. A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).

S. Sandmel, *Judaism and Christian Beginnings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978)

(J.) P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Austand: Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981)

_____, "Bibelübersetzungen II. Targumim," *Theologische Realencyclopedia* VI (ed. G. Krause, G. Müller; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 216-228

_____, "Die Termini 'Heiliger Geist' und 'Geist der Prophetie' in den Targumim und das Verhältnis der Targumim zueinander," *Vetus Testamentum* 20 (1970) 304-314

_____, "Die Torah der messianischen Zeit," *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums: Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 198-213

_____, *Die Vorstellung vom heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur: Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 28 (München: Kösel, 1972)

S. Schulz, "Die Bedeutung der neuen Targumforschung für die synoptische Tradition," *Abraham unser Vater* (cf. under Flusser [1963] 425-436)

E. Schürer (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar), *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1973, 1979 [two volumes])

P. Seidelin, "Der Ebed Jahwe und die Messiasgestalt im Jesajatargum," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 35 (1936) 194-231

A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven. Early rabbinic reports about Christianity and Gnosticism: Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1977)

B.E. Shafer, "mbhwr/mbhr='Fortress,'" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 33 (1971) 389-396

A. Shinan, "Midrashic Parallels to Targumic Traditions," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 8 (1977) 185-191

J. Shunary, "Insertions of mšyh' in *Targum Jonathan* to the Prophets," *Tarbits* 42 (1973) 259-265 (Hebrew), I, II

E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian: Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1976)

L.P. Smith, "The Prophetic Targum as a Guide and Defence for the Higher Critic," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 52 (1933) 121-130

L. Smolar and M. Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets: Library of Biblical Studies* (New York: Ktav, 1983)

K.R. Snodgrass, "Streams of tradition emerging from Isaiah 40:1-5 and their adaptation in the New Testament," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 8 (1980) 24-45

A. Sperber, "Zur Sprache des Prophetentargums," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 45 (1927) 267-287

_____, "Zur Textgestalt des Prophetentargums," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 44 (1926) 175, 176

J. Starcky (tr. J.S. Hazelton, F.M. Cross), "The Nabataeans: A Historical Sketch," *Biblical Archaeologist* 18 (1955) 84-106

O.H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomischen Geschichtsbild im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum: Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 23 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967)

G. Stemberger, *Die römische Herrschaft im Urteil der Juden: Erträge der Forschung* 195 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983)

H.L. Strack (tr. Jewish Publication Society), *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (New York: Atheneum, 1972)

P. Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium. I Urgeschichte: Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 95 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1968)

A. Tal, *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and its Position within the Aramaic Dialects: Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects* 1 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1975 [Hebrew])

A.P. Tàrrech, "Lc 10, 18: La visió de la Caiguda de Satanàs," *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 3 (1978) 217-243

B. Uffenheimer, "Isaiah Chap. VI and its Aramaic Translation," *Fourth World Congress* (cf. Komlosh [1965]) 22

G. Vermes, Review of Kahle (1959), *New Testament Studies* 6 (1959-60) 323-325

_____, "Lebanon—The historical development of an exegetical tradition," *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Studia Post-Biblica* 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1961) 26-39

P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter. Nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur* (Hildesheim: Olm, 1966)

G.E. Weil, *Elie Lévita, humaniste et massorite (1469-1549): Studia Post-Biblica* 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1963)

P. Wernberg-Moller, "An inquiry into the validity of the text-critical argument for an early dating of the recently discovered Palestinian Targum," *Vetus Testamentum* 12 (1962) 312-330

E. Werner, "The Doxology in Synagogue and Church, a Liturgico-Musical Study," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 19 (1945-6) 275-351

N. Wieder, "The Habakkuk Scroll and the Targum," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 4 (1953) 14-18

W. Wikgren, "The Targums and the New Testament," *Journal of Religion* 24 (1944) 89-95

A.S. van der Woude, Review of Levey (1974), *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 6 (1975) 105-107

E.M. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidences* (London: Tyndale, 1973)

A.D. York, "The Dating of Targumic Literature," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1979) 49-62

_____, "The Targum in the Synagogue and the School," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 10 (1979) 74-86

E.J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* I (1972), II (1969), III (1972) (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965-1972)

J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias: Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen* 12 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934)

J.B. van Zijl, "Errata in Sperber's Edition of Targum Isaiah," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem* 4 (1965) 189-191

_____, *The Eschatology of Targum Isaiah* (Stellenbosch: Ph.D., 1963)

_____, "Is. XLVIII 7 according to the Targum Br. Mus. Or. Ms. 2211," *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968) 560, 561

_____, "A Second List of Errata in Sperber's Edition of Targum Isaiah," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem* 7 (1968-9) 132-134

P.J. van Zijl, "The Root *prq* in Targum Isaiah," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 2 (1972) 60-73

F. Zimmermann, *The Aramaic Origin of the Four Gospels* (New York: Ktav, 1978).

ABBREVIATIONS

Generally speaking, works are cited according to author, date, and relevant page number(s). Fuller reference to the literature used will be found in the Bibliography, where abbreviations, even of journal titles, have been avoided. (But “ed.” does appear for “edited by”, and “tr.” for “translated by”.) There are certain exceptions to the usual practice. In the case of editions and dictionaries cited in the Apparatus and Notes, citations are restricted to the compiler, the volume number (if that is relevant), and the page(s). The same applies to van Zijl’s concordance, and the lexicon of “Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius” (cf. under the name of F. Brown in the Bibliography) is designated “BDB”, which is a common convention. In cases where an author has published more than one relevant work in the same year, a shortened title is given to avoid confusion.

Reference to the Masoretic Text (MT), the Septuagint (LXX), the Targum (or any particular Targum: Tg), and the Isaiah Scrolls (1QIs[a] and 1QIs[b]) follows widely recognized practice. Abbreviated citation of the Revised Standard Version (RSV) requires no comment. The textual witnesses cited have already been discussed in the Introduction; only “B.M.” (for “British Museum,” now known as the British Library) is used as an abbreviation.

GLOSSARY

“before” (*qdm*) in various combinations within the Tg renders a host of prepositions in the MT. Many, but not all, of its usages are in respect of God, which led to the old consensus that *qdm* represented an attempt to avoid speaking of God in an anthropomorphic manner. In fact, however, “before” is also used of persons, so that it is better seen as a characteristic preposition in Aramaic, used perhaps to suggest some awe in regard to the noun which follows. It frequently appears in the phrase “from before”, which suggests that *qdm* in itself had lost some of its force by the time the Tg was composed. The phrase is most literally rendered “from before”, but sometimes in the present translation it is represented simply by “before” or “from.”

“fear” as a verb or a noun sometimes conforms to the usage of cognate terms in the MT. More often than not, however, the usage is innovative, and is used in respect of one’s attitude to a divine being. The being involved might be God himself, or a false “god” (cf. 44:10, 15, 17; 45:20; 46:6 where literal translation is not possible). In either case, the reference of the term may shift from the attitude to that which is feared in itself.

“Gehenna” (actually *gyhnm*, here accommodated to the usual English spelling, which is derived from the Greek equivalent) refers etymologically to the valley of Hinnom to the south of Jerusalem. There, in the expectation of early Judaism, eschatological judgment was to take place (cf. Jeremias [1964]). In the Targum, it is the ordeal of fire which awaits the wicked.

“idols” (*t^cwt*) might more literally be translated “deceptions”, but the term is consistently used in reference to foreign gods, sacred gardens and groves, alien cults, images, and the like. The functional equivalence of the term to “idols” in English seems evident.

“islands” (*ngw^cwt*) frequently renders “coasts” or “islands” (*'yym*) in the MT, although it also appears more innovatively. The remarkable usage at 23:13 demonstrates the military associations the term carries in the mind of the meturgeman. Roman power was particularly manifest in naval terms, as in the rabbinic recollection of ships bearing away captives after A.D. 70 (cf. Stemberger [1983] 69), and especially in the fanciful idea that Rome was originally an island of reeds (cf. Stemberger [1983] 119f.).

“the kingdom of God” (*mlkwt' d'lhkwn*, 40:9 or *d'lhyk*, 52:7) or “*of the LORD*” (*dywy*, 24:23; 31:4) refers to the activity of God’s reigning (cf. the verb *mlk* in the MT, 24:23; 52:7). Contextually, however, the “kingdom” usage is part of the eschatological hope that God will intervene to vindicate Zion.

“Memra” (*mymr*) is frequently rendered “word” in scholarly literature, especially of the nineteenth century. Its relation to the verb “to speak” (*'mr*) is evident, and the absolute usages in 4:4; 11:4, 15; 28:6, to refer to an authoritative command, substantiate the convention. But “Memra” is used more flexibly in Aramaic than “word” (*ptgm*). “Memra” may refer to God’s command, which Israel rebels against, *and* to what punishes Israel as a result, or, in other language, to the divine edict *and* to Israel’s reaction thereto. “Memra” is the constant support offered God’s people, and even to the universe (cf. 44:24), but Israel may accept or reject it. “Memra” usage therefore refers to the complex interplay between divine constancy and human fickleness, to God’s address and people’s response to the address.

“sanctuary” (*byt mqdš*: “sanctuary house”) is the usual Targumic phrase for the Temple, whether as presently constituted or soon to be restored. The usage brings the issue of sanctity, of God’s own holiness, to the forefront. It is notable, for example, that a form of *mqdš* is not used at 16:12, although its cognate appears in the MT; the meturgeman clearly thought the usage quite inappropriate in respect of a Moabite temple.

“service” (*pwlhn*, cf. the verb “serve”, *p/h*) in Aramaic may bear the general meaning of work done, especially subservient work. But within the Targum, context makes it plain that the conduct of worship in the Temple is chiefly in mind. As such, it approximates the term *bwdh* in the Mishnah (cf. particularly 28:21, which refers to the service of idols). But usages such as at 14:3 (where the term is here rendered “subjugation”) apparently carry no cultic overtones.

“Shekhinah” (*šk̄ynt*) refers etymologically to an act of dwelling (cf. the verb *škn*), but specifically its reference is to God’s presence in association with the cult. Accordingly, the Shekhinah can be portrayed as in the Temple, as removed from the Temple (thereby destroying the efficacy of prayer), or as awaiting in heaven its restoration to the Temple.

“sins” is normally the translation of a term which might more literally be rendered “debts” (cf. “*debtor[s]*” and “*endebted*”). The meturgeman generally takes sin as a serious debit (as it were) in God’s account of a people or an individual. Even the non-metaphorical usage of the singular at 50:1 leads on naturally to the theological sense of the word in what follows. It should, however, be pointed out that what is usually at issue is the fact of being in debt in respect of God, rather than any notion that sin is something that can be mechanistically repaid. The stress and guilt involved in sin are brought to expression by means of this metaphor, as in Matthew 6:12; 11:4. That is, debt equates to sin from the point of view of a debtor who cannot pay, not from the point of view of a banker or an outside observer.

“the son of man” (*br'nš*) usually in the plural (and therefore rendered “the sons of men”), refers in the Targum to people in a generic sense (cf. 2:20; 6:12; 13:12; 14:12; 24:21; 29:19, 21; 33:8; 45:18; 47:3; 51:7; 52:14; 65:4), much as “man” can be used collectively (with a clearly plural meaning), of the inhabitants of a place (cf. 1:1; 10:29;

16:7; 19:13). Indeed, “man” at 13:7; 17:7; 24:6 (where a plural rendering is here offered) would appear to reflect an intersection between a generic and a collective meaning, as does “needy sons of men” at 29:19. “Man” itself is used generically at 46:4, and—with “the son of man” in parallelism—“the man” at 51:12 is also generic (cf. also 56:2). In aggregate, these usages would seem to indicate that the phrase which might literally be rendered, “son(s) of the man,” is a generic or collective reference to people; no specific figure or figures appear to be in view, as the usage of the New Testament might lead one to expect. Accordingly, the phrase (and its variants) are simply rendered as collective and/or generic forms in the present translation, as context demands.

TRANSLATION

CHAPTER 1

1.1 The *prophecy* of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he prophesied concerning *the men of Judah* and *the inhabitants of Jerusalem* in the days of Uzziah, Jothan, Ahaz, Hezekiah, kings of *the house of Judah*. 1.2 Hear, O heavens which shook when I gave my law to my people, and give ear, O earth which reeled before my word; for the LORD speaks: “*The house of Israel is my people, I called them sons. I cherished and*

Apparatus

1:2 “*reeled*” (*trgypt*) is an odd word; one might have expected “*was shaken*” (*trgyst*), which the Second Rabbinic Bible actually gives, and whose forms appear at 10:32; 17:12, 13. But *rgš* forms in the Targums are used when dynamic activity is in mind; the subject is in some sense the source of the action. The reading of the Second Rabbinic Bible is therefore probably a Hebraism: the reading of the First Rabbinic Bible (“*was stoned*”) seems to be an error. The present usage corresponds to the reading of Tg 2 Samuel 22:8 (cf. Levy II, p. 407).

1:3 “*teach*” here appears in an unusual, causative form.

The Antwerp Polyglot has “*my fear*” for “*my law*” at the end of the verse. The variant might have been caused by the appearance of the phrase earlier in the verse. In any case, the word play of the verse was missed by the copyist: an ass recognizes its crib (*wry*), but Israel has forgotten the law (*wryt*).

1:4 “*sins*” may more literally be translated “*debts*”, the usual term in the Tg.

“*it was said of them*” may seem an unduly literalistic rendering, but it should be retained in English, rather than transformed into a passive form such as “*they were called*”. As is well known, Jewish speakers of Aramaic preferred circumlocutions to direct statements about God. Hence, “*it was said*” probably means “*the LORD said*”; the more direct form was considered disrespectful.

1:6 “*a dripping wound*” is the preferred translation of the Aramaic; the Hebrew may refer simply to the freshness of the wound. There is, however, no intentional change on the part of the meturgeman, in that the Hebrew root used (*trh*) had a somewhat different sense in Aramaic (*r*). That is the apparent reason for which *rss* is used in the Tg. In any case, the Aramaic translation may well give a clue as to the meaning of the MT.

1:8 “*tent*” (*rsf*) is not a departure from the Hebrew *mlwnh*, which clearly refers to a “*lodge*” (so the RSV) formed by cloth (cf. 24:20, where the RSV “*hut*” spoils the imagery of a swaying tent). The idea of a more fixed enclosure cannot be excluded, but in context it seems less likely.

“*is besieged*” would more formally be translated, “*which they are besieging*” (*dsyryn lh*), a phrase which renders the Hebrew passive singular participle (*nswrh*) with an active plural (and masculine) participle. For the particular form, cf. Dalman (1960) 316.

1:9 “*remnant*” is singular, as in the MT, although collective in meaning. The Aramaic term generally renders *plyth*; here it renders *sryd*.

1:10 “*Listen to*” would more literally be rendered “*accept*”, but context frequently demands the present meaning in the Targums.

1:12 “*to be seen*” (*l'thz'h*) is what the Targum has, followed by “*before*”. The RSV translates the MT in a similar way, but the Hebrew actually speaks of coming “*to see my face*”.

1:13 “*so that your prayers might be accepted*” might more literally be translated, “*for the acceptance . . .*” which represents the infinitive with the / performative. The present translation is unique, but this is not the only such usage in the Tg (cf. 1:15, 23; 28:12; 30:9; 34:12; 35:5; 48:8). Stenning (p. 4) has clearly used v. 15 to arrive at his interpretation of v. 13 (“*so that I may receive*”). But if God were the subject of the verb, there were expedients available to express this indirectly (cf. the Apparatus on 1:4). It therefore seems preferable to take the infinitive as a verbal noun which does not require any specification of the subject of the action.

1:14 “*I have forgiven much*” conveys the idea of the persistent increase of the action referred to (cf. v. 15). Generally, the verb is used transitively, with the meaning “*increase*”. The present rendering is justified by the consideration that the term renders a reflexive Hebrew form, and by the possible usage of the same idiom in v. 5. “*To forgive*” takes up a possible meaning of the Hebrew verb *ns*, but in context it must mean “*to bear*” or “*to carry*”, as in the RSV.

1:15 “*pray much*” involves the participle of *sgy*, and the idiom is perhaps the same as in v. 14. On the other hand, the conventional meaning (“*increase*”) fits better here. Again, the persistence of the action is conveyed (cf. Tg 1 Samuel 1:12).

glorified them, but they have rebelled against my Memra. 1.3 The ox knows its owner, and the ass its master's crib; but Israel does not *teach to know the fear of me*, my people does not understand, *to return to my law.*" 1.4 Woe, because they were called a holy people, and sinned; a chosen congregation have multiplied sins; they were named as a beloved seed and they acted wickedly, and it was said of them, "Cherished sons", and they corrupted their ways! They have forsaken the service of the LORD, they have despised the fear of the Holy One of Israel, because of their wicked deeds they are turned about and backwards. 1.5 They do not understand so as to say, "Why are we still smitten?" They continue to sin. They do not say, "For what reason is every head sick and every heart mournful?" 1.6 From the remnant of the people even to the heads there is not among them one that is perfect in my fear. All of them are disobedient and rebellious; they defile themselves with sins as a dripping wound. They do not forsake their arrogance and they do not desire repentance, and they have no merits to protect them.

1.7 Your country lies desolate, your cities are burned with fire; in your very presence the Gentiles take possession of your land; and because of your sins it is removed from you, and given to aliens. 1.8 And the congregation of Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard after they have picked it clean, like a tent for staying overnight in a cucumber field after they have stripped it, like a city which is besieged. 1.9 Had the abounding goodness of the LORD of hosts not left us a remnant in his mercies, then our sins would have been with us, so that as the men of Sodom we should have perished, and as the inhabitants of Gomorrah we should have been destroyed.

1.10 Listen to the word of the LORD, you rulers whose deeds are [as] evil as [those of] the rulers of Sodom! Give ear to the law of our God, you people whose deeds resemble [those of] the people of Gomorrah! 1.11 "There is no pleasure before me in the multitude of your holy sacrifices, says the LORD. Enough of burnt offerings of rams and fat of fed beasts and blood of bulls or lambs or kids; in such things there is no pleasure before me. 1.12 When you come to be seen before me, who requires this from your hand, that you should come? Do not trample my courts! 1.13 Do not continue to bring an offering which is stolen; it is a despised oblation before me. At new moons and sabbaths you gather in assembly without forsaking your sins, so that your prayers might be accepted in the time of your assemblies. 1.14 Your new moons and your appointed feasts my Memra despises; they are before me as something despicable; I have forgiven much. 1.15 And when the priests spread forth their hands to pray for you, I take up the face of my Shekhinah from you; even though you pray much concerning yourselves, there is no pleasure before me to accept your prayers; because your hands are full of innocent blood.

Notes

1:1-1:6 From the outset, the meturgeman presents Isaiah as uttering "prophecy" (v. 1), not merely vision (as in the MT). The issue which is foremost in the Tg is law. In v. 2 its cosmic importance is stated: God's lawgiving caused the heavens and the earth to tremble. At the same time, the apostasy of "the house of Israel" is emphasized (vv. 2-6). Their corruption is evident in "sins" and in their forsaking cultic "service" (v. 4). They refuse "repentance" and even the practical "merits" which have mitigated their rebellion (v. 6).

1:7-1:9 These "sins" result in the "possession" of the land by the "Gentiles".

1:10-1:15 The call to "listen to" (v. 10) God's word is given particular point in v. 13, where complaint is made against the exploitative procurement of sacrifices, and against the hypocrisy of praying "without forsaking your sins." The result is unequivocal: the "Shekhinah" is removed by God (v. 15).

1.16 *Return to the law; make yourselves clean from your sins; remove the evil of your deeds from before my Memra; cease to do evil.* 1.17 *Learn to do good; seek judgment, acquit him that is robbed, judge the case of the fatherless, act on the complaint of the widow.* 1.18 *Then, when you return to the law, you will beseech before me, and I will carry out your request,* says the LORD: though your *sins* are scarlet like dyed cloth, they shall be white like snow; though they are red like crimson, they shall become like *pure* wool. 1.19 If you are willing and *attend to my Memra*, you shall eat of the good of the land; 1.20 but if you refuse and *do not attend to my Memra*, by the adversary's sword you shall *be killed*; for by the *Memra* of the LORD it has been so decreed."

1.21 How the faithful city's *deeds* have turned to become as [*those of*] a harlot, she that was full of *those who perform judgment!* *Truth* was *done* in her, and now *they are killers of souls.* 1.22 Your silver has become dross, your wine mixed with water. 1.23 Your princes are rebellious and companions of thieves. All of *them* love *to accept a bribe, saying—a man to his neighbour—assist me in my case, so that I will repay you in your case.* They do not defend the fatherless and *the complaint of the widow* does not come before *them.* 1.24 Therefore the Lord of the world says, the LORD of hosts, the Strong One of Israel: "*The city of Jerusalem I am about to comfort, but woe to the wicked*

Apparatus

1:16 "the law" appears as "my law" in the First Rabbinic Bible and B.M. 1470.

1:17 "him that is robbed" is a passive participle, while the Hebrew "oppression" is a noun. The difference between the two forms in Hebrew, however, is a single vowel which is determined by the pointing of *w*. As the LXX and the Tg agree here, they may be taken to represent a Hebrew original which differs from the MT.

1:19 "*attend to*" is the same verb which is rendered "listened to" in v. 10, and may bear that meaning here. Because "Memra" is not consistently viewed as an aural phenomenon, however, "attend" is preferred in such contexts as the present.

1:20 "by" is omitted in the Second Rabbinic Bible.

1:21 At this point there is an expansive addition in a margin of Reuchlinianus. It reads as follows:

How her deeds have turned, to become as those of a woman who strays from her husband, the city that was faithful to her master, that was full of true judgments! Now her judges pervert judgment. Her priests used to offer daily offerings, one lamb in the morning, for the sins of the evening, and one lamb at twilight, for the sins of the day: for those who inhabited her rested overnight and arose in virtue. Now, however, they do not offer, but kill and sacrifice to idols, and slay lifeless victims.

1:22 The margin of Reuchlinianus also presents an innovative reading here:

Your deeds once resembled refined silver; you have changed, so that the dross of the law is found in you. You, who resembled pure wine, changed the commandments, and have become as wine mixed with water.

1:23 "of *them*" is not an expansive addition; the Hebrew text has *klw*, in which the pronominal suffix is to be understood as a collective.

"repay" (3lym) is inspired—along with this entire addition—from the Hebrew "gifts" (3lmnym).

1:24 "*comfort*" (lnhmvth) is inspired by the Hebrew 'nhm, which the RSV rightly translates as a reflexive. Etymologically, however, the Targumic rendering has some justification; cf. Isaiah 40.1 especially, with its reference to God's people.

"retribution" is the reading of B.M. 1474, 1470 and Reuchlinianus. Other witnesses, including B.M. 2211, omit the term. The external attestation is therefore not compelling, but with Stenning (p. 7) I am inclined to accept the variant on the grounds of the usage of this term elsewhere in the Tg (cf. van Zijl, p. 150).

1:27 "return" (ytwbwn) is the same verb which may be rendered "repent". It is derived from the Hebrew 3byh by the meturgeman. B.M. 1470 reads "come to an end".

1:28 "*will be shattered*" agrees in syntax with the emendation in the RSV of the Hebrew noun 3br to a passive verb.

1:30 "*when*": only the construction differs from the MT, not the diction. An infinitive clause is used instead of the participle, and the meturgeman took "leaf" in the MT as a collective.

"fall" (from *ntr*) is definitely the sense here, and it may be a better translation than the RSV's "wither".

when I am revealed to take just retribution from the enemies of the people, and I will return vengeance to the adversary. 1.25 And I will turn *the stroke* of my might upon you and I will *separate*, as *those who purify* with lye, *all your wicked* and I will remove all your *sinners*. 1.26 And I will *appoint* in you *true* judges, *steadfast* as at the first, and your counsellors as at the beginning. Afterward you shall be called the city of *truth*, the faithful city. 1.27 Zion shall be redeemed *when judgment is performed in her*, and *the ones who have performed the law will return to her* in righteousness. 1.28 But rebels and *sinners will be shattered* together, and those who *have forsaken the law of the LORD* will be consumed. 1.29 For you shall be ashamed of the oaks of the *idols* in which you delighted; and you shall be *humiliated* for your gardens of the *idols* in which you *assemble*. 1.30 For you will be like a terebinth *when its leaves fall*, and like a *channeled* garden without water. 1.31 And *the strength of the wicked* shall become as a *tow of flax*, and the deed of *their hands* as a *spark of fire*; *as when they are brought near to each other* and both of them burn together, *so will the wicked come to an end, they and their wicked deeds*, and there will be no pity for them.

Notes

1:16–1:20 Only repentance can reverse the situation, and make the prayer of Israel effective (v. 18).

1:21–1:31 The pathetic situation of “the city” is precisely in respect of her “*deeds*”; they are quite the opposite of the repentance God desires and the “*truth*” once “*done*” in her (v. 21). “*Truth*” in the Tg runs the gamut of meanings from “certainty” to “righteousness”, and frequently renders the Hebrew term *sdq*. An idiom of “doing truth” stands back of the present usage (cf. John 3:21; 1 John 1:6); its opposite is *murder* (v. 21). The particular sphere of corruption is legal proceedings (v. 23), and God’s remedy will be to take “*retribution*” from “*the wicked*” even as he undertakes to “*comfort*” Jerusalem (v. 24). “*Comfort*” here is used with the biblical meaning, which includes the sense of strengthening or encouraging. The separation of the wicked (v. 25) is in the interests of “*the ones who have performed the law*”: they will return (v. 27), while those who “*have forsaken the law*” to serve “*idols*” (vv. 28, 29) are to face the worst.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 The word *of prophecy* which Isaiah the son of Amoz prophesied concerning *the men of Judah* and *the inhabitants* of Jerusalem. 2.2 And it shall come to pass in the end of days that the mountain of the *sanctuary* of the LORD shall be established at the head of the mountains, and raised above the hills; and *all kingdoms* shall *turn to worship upon* it, 2.3 and many peoples shall come, and say: “Come, and let us go up to the mountain of *the sanctuary of* LORD, to the house of *the Shekhinah* of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us ways *that are correct before* him and that we might walk in *the teaching of his law.*” For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and *the teaching of* the word of the LORD from Jerusalem. 2.4 And he shall judge between *kingdoms*, and shall reprove many peoples, and they will beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; *people* will not take up a *weapon* against *people*, neither shall they learn war any more. 2.5 *Those of* the house of Jacob will say, “Come, and let us walk in *the teaching of the law* of the LORD.”

Apparatus

2:4 “any more” represents a redundant phrase (‘*wd mybkyn*’) in the Tg. The first word is omitted in B.M. 1474, the second by Reuchlinianus. The latter omission suggests that scribes were not familiar with *mybkyn*; ‘*wd*’ was perhaps more easily understood, and is present in the MT. Indeed, it is possible that the reading of 1474 should here be preferred to that of B.M. 2211, since ‘*wd*’ can be taken as a Hebraism.

2:5 “*Those of*” is omitted in B.M. 1474, probably out of conformity to the MT. It is an important word here, however, because some of the house of Israel are rebellious (cf. v. 6).

2:6 “you” is plural in the Tg.

“*idols as from the east*” may not be a substantial departure from the MT, which might be missing a word. “*They are filled from the east*” is what the Hebrew text means (cf. the LXX); “*diviners*” has been provided by the RSV translators. The RSV and the Tg represent similar attempts to explain the apparently defective phrase.

2:7 “*their*” is collective in the Hebrew text, but a formal plural in the Tg (so also v. 8).

“*his*” is quite distinct from “*their*”, and has no antecedent, as “*land*” is feminine.

2:10 “*in flight*” augments “*to flee*” only in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles. Because these witnesses do not normally attest readings which depart from the MT more than the others, the variant should at least be considered. Its coherence with ordinary Aramaic speaking practice (which seems prone to redundancy by English standards) is another reason to accept it. The omission of the word in v. 19 might be explained by the consideration that the verb is fully explicated here. For the sort of flight envisaged, cf. Isaac and Oppenheimer (1980) 42-44.

“*in the caves*” is only attested in Reuchlinianus, but three considerations favour the reading. This witness normally agrees with the Rabbinic Bibles, which in this verse seem to preserve the more primitive wording as compared to the B.M. manuscripts (cf. above). Secondly, the reading is characteristic of the meturgeman’s tendency towards prosaic explanation. Thirdly, the reading makes this verse cohere with v. 19, and consistency is a feature of the meturgeman’s rendering.

“*brilliance*” (zyw) conveys the idea of bright splendour, and it is a plausible translation of the Hebrew *hdr* (RSV: “*glory*”).

2:13 “*tyrants*” is a Greek loan word (cf. 10:17; 34:7). The Aramaic term itself does not carry the negative associations it does in English, but they are appropriately understood here, in view of context.

2:16 “*those who dwell in the islands*” is the reading of all other extant witnesses against B.M. 2211 (“*those who go down in ships of the sea*”). The style of the more widely attested reading suits the context better (cf. the *d*), and the reading of B.M. 2211 may have been influenced by the well known passage, Psalms 107:23 (cf. Tg Isaiah 23:1, 14).

2:22 “*god*” (or “*fear*”) is not commonly used in Aramaic of an idolatrous object, but it does appear in the Targum (cf. 44:10, 15).

2.6 For you have *forsaken the fear of the strong one*, who was your saviour, *you of* the house of Jacob, because *your land* is filled with idols *as* from the east, and sooth-sayers like the Philistines, and they *go in the customs of the Gentiles*. 2.7 And their land is filled with silver and gold, and there is no end to his treasures; and their land is filled with horses and there is no end to his chariots. 2.8 And their land is filled with idols; they bow down to the work of their hands, to that which their fingers have *prepared*. 2.9 So man is humbled, and *men's strength faints*—and you *will not forgive them*! 2.10 *They shall enter to flee in flight in the caves of the rocks*, and *to hide in the dust* from the *fearful one*, the LORD, and from the *brilliance* of his *glory*. 2.11 The haughty looks of man shall be *humbled* and men's *strength* shall *faint*; and the LORD alone is *strong* in that *time*. 2.12 For the day is *about to come* from the LORD of hosts against all the proud and lofty *of heart* and against all the *strong*—and *they will be humbled*; 2.13 and against all the *kings of the Gentiles, strong and hard*, and against all the *tyrants of the provinces*; 2.14 and against all the high mountains and against all the lofty hills; 2.15 and against all *those who dwell in* a high tower and against all *those who encamp within* a fortified wall; 2.16 and against all *those who dwell in the islands of the sea*, and against all *those who encamp in* beautiful *palaces*. 2.17 And the haughtiness of man shall be humbled and men's *strength* shall *faint*; and the LORD alone is *strong* in that *time*. 2.18 And the idols shall completely come to an end. 2.19 And they shall enter in caves of the rocks and in holes of the dust, from before the *fearful one*, the LORD, and from the *brilliance* of his *glory* when he *is revealed to shatter the wicked of the earth*. 2.20 In that *time the sons of men will despise* their idols of silver and their idols of gold which they made for themselves to worship, *the idols and the images*, 2.21 to enter the caves of the rocks and the clefts of the cliffs from before the *fearful one*, the LORD, and from the *brilliance* of his *glory* when he *is revealed to shatter the wicked of the earth*. 2.22 *Prevent yourselves from being subjected to man when he makes the god*, in whose nostrils is *the breath of the spirit of life*, for today he *lives*, tomorrow he *is not*, and as *nothing* is he accounted.

Notes

2:1-2:5 The “*prophecy*” (v. 1) now speaks positively of the blessing which is to come on those who live in Judah and Jerusalem. The “*sancutary*” (v. 2) is to be central, so that “*every kingdom*” will “*turn to serve*” there. Restored, “*the sanctuary*” will also be “*the house of the Shekhinah*,” and will be the source of “*the teaching of his law*” (v. 3). Indeed, such teaching is what will permit of peace (vv. 4, 5).

2:6-2:22 The present position, however, is catastrophically different. Israel's apostasy is stressed by using a Greek loan word (*nomos*) in order to refer to the “*customs of the Gentiles*” (v. 6, cf. Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 40, 41). By v. 13, it becomes evident that the meturgeman's mind is focussed on the “*Gentile*” leaders; “*tyrants*” represents another loan word, and is not as unequivocally negative as the English term. The word “*provinces*” originally referred to a Persian administrative unit, but passed on to be used much more broadly in Aramaic. The reference to the “*islands*” in v. 16 (cf. the Glossary) is probably to be taken in respect of the Romans, and the remainder of the verse is an objection to the Roman habit of providing comparatively lavish facilities for their officials (cf. Jeremias [1969] 63-64). These are the “*wicked*” whom God's brilliant “*glory*” will “*shatter*” (vv. 19, 21). This certain and impending doom is the ground on which the meturgeman can urge his hearers, “*Prevent yourselves from being subjected*” (v. 22). Rome, together with Roman “*idols and the images*” (v. 20), is to be broken.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 For, behold, the Lord *of the world*, the LORD of hosts, is taking away from Jerusalem and from Judah support and help, the entire support of food and the entire help of drink; 3.2 mighty man and man *making war*, judge and *scribe* and diviner and elder, 3.3 captain of fifty and man of rank and counsellor and *speaker* and *him who is heard* and wise man *and scholar* and *the expert in counsel*. 3.4 And I will *appoint* children as their *guardians*, and *the faint* shall rule over them. 3.5 And the people will oppress one another, every man his fellow and every man his neighbour, the youths will *rule* over the elder, and the base fellow over the honourable. 3.6 When a man takes hold of his brother *from the family* of his father's house, *saying*: "You have a mantle; you shall be leader *over us*, and this *exacted tribute* shall be under you rule"; 3.7 in that time he will *reply*, saying: "I am not fit to be a *chief*; and in my house there is *nothing I can clothe myself with*; you shall not *appoint* me leader *over the people*."

3.8 For *the inhabitants of Jerusalem* have stumbled and *the men of Judah* have *gone into exile*; because the speech *of their mouth* and the *profit of their deeds are disclosed before the LORD, inciting to anger before his glory*. 3.9 Their partiality *in judgment* witnesses against them; and their sins like [*those of*] *the Sodomites* cry *aloud*, they do

Apparatus

3:4 "guardians" is a Greek loan word (*pronoos*), and replaces "princes" in the MT.

3:9 "*in judgment*": B.M. 1474 adds "against them".

"they do not": "and" is inserted in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus and Ms. Jews' College.

3:10 "you are blessed" (*twbykwn*) is inspired by the Hebrew term *twb*, and the number is changed to agree with "the righteous".

3:11 "given back" is a textual, not a translational, innovation; *yšwb* appears in 1QIs(a).

3:12 "gleaners" (*m'ly*) is rather ingeniously derived from the Hebrew term "child" (*m'wll*) by the meturgeman.

"creditors" (*mry hwb*) may have been occasioned by reading "women" (*nšym*) in the MT as a participle of *ns'*.

3:13 "from" is omitted in B.M. 2211, but it is present in the other extant witnesses.

3:14 "bring into judgment" followed by the sign of the accusative (instead of "with") is the reading of Reuchlinianus, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews' College. B.M. 2211 and 1474 have "enter" (the usual translation of Hebrew *bw*), and "into judgment with". But the idea of God's being *with* the elders, as at 24:23, has a positive sense for the meturgeman. For this reason, as well as for its departure from the MT, the variant reading is to be preferred. The appropriate adjustment in the orthography of *//* is made in Reuchlinianus.

3:19 "veils" seems the most probable rendering of both the Hebrew and the Aramaic texts, cf. Young I, p. 165 and Levy II, p. 270.

3:20 "combs" (*qwlzmzmsy*) is a Greek loan word (cf. *kalamis*).

3:22 "tunics" (*kytwny*) is a Greek loan word (cf. *khitōn*).

"shaws" (*lbwrnqy*) is a Greek loan word (cf. *liburnikē*), and is replaced in B.M. 2211 by *lbwrnsy*. The replacement in 2211 is over an erasure according to Stenning (p. 15).

"breast ornaments" as a translation of the Aramaic text involves reading *mhky'* as *mhwky'* with Stenning, p. 15. This seems less drastic than deriving the word from *mht'*, as do Dalman, p. 231, Levy II, p. 24 and Jastrow II, p. 759 (for the meaning of the term, cf. p. 758).

3:23 "mirrors" is a possible translation of the Hebrew (cf. Young I, p. 166), although in context it is not perhaps the most likely.

"linen garments" (*qrlysy*) is a Greek loan word (cf. *krētikon* and Jastrow II, p. 1417). Again, this seems more convincing than Dalman's emendation (p. 390, cf. 3:22 in the Apparatus).

4:1 "shame" in the Tg normally renders Hebrew *bšt*; as a rendering of *hrph*, it is innovative. In fact, the Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot use *hswdn'* instead, out of respect for the MT.

not *hold back*. Woe to them! For they have *caused the evil to come* upon themselves. 3.10 Tell the righteous, “*You are blessed*,” for the fruits of their deeds will *be repaid*. 3.11 Woe to the wicked *whose deeds are* evil, for the recompense of *their* hands shall be *given back* to them. 3.12 My people—*whose commanders plunder it as the gleaners of a vineyard*, and *as the creditors rule over it*—O my people, your nobles mislead you, and *corrupt* the course of your paths. 3.13 The LORD is about to *judge* and *to be revealed to take just retribution from the peoples*. 3.14 The LORD will *bring* into judgment the elders and *commanders* of his people: “You have *robbed my people*, the spoil of the poor is in your houses. 3.15 What do you mean by *impoverishing* my people and *your making the needy turn this way and that in their legal suit?*” says the LORD God of hosts. 3.16 And the LORD said: Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, they walk *with uplifted neck* and walk *ogling with their eyes* and *with ringed locks of hair* and *inciting* with their feet; 3.17 so the LORD will *enslave* the *nobles* of the daughters of Zion and the LORD will *take away* their *glory*. 3.18 In that *time* the LORD will take away the finery of the *sandals*, and the headbands, and the *hairnets*; 3.19 the pendants, and the bracelets, and the veils; 3.20 the headdresses, and the *anklets* and the *combs* and the *earrings* and the *necklaces*; 3.21 the rings and the nose rings; 3.22 the *tunics* and the mantles and the *shawls* and the *breast ornaments*; 3.23 and the *mirrors* and the linen garments and the turbans and the cloaks. 3.24 And it shall come to pass that *the place where they used* perfumes will *melt away*; and *the place where they bound girdles will be scars of a blow*; and instead of *ringed locks of hair*, *a sheared head*; and instead of *their going with pride*, *they will wear sack cloths*; *this retribution shall be exacted from them*, for *they have gone astray in their beauty*. 3.25 *The choice of* your mighty men will *be killed* by *the sword* and *those who win* your victory in the war. 3.26 And the gates of her *cities* shall *be wasted* and *come to an end*, and her land will *be evacuated and desolate*.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 And seven women shall take hold of one man in that *time*, saying, “We will eat of our own and wear of our own, only let your name be called upon us; take away our

Notes

3:1-3:7 Against the background of what will be, the situation which now prevails is all the more pathetic. God removes such basic leadership as that of the “scribe” (v. 2, instead of “prophet”, as in the MT) and the “scholar” (v. 3, cf. the related term at the end of v. 2). (Notably, the wise man, the scribe and the debater are described as set aside by God in 1 Corinthians 1:20, after a citation of Isaiah 29:14.) Instead, weak “guardians” (v. 4, another Greek term, *pronoos*, cf. 2:6-2:22 in the Notes) prevail, supported by official extortion from community representatives (v. 6) who are themselves impoverished and unsuitable (v. 7).

3:8-4:1 The nature of the provocation against God (v. 8) which brings “*the evil*” (v. 9) is spelled out, and “*the righteous*” are promised a different repayment (v. 10). The general threat of “*retribution*” (vv. 13, 24) is particularly leveled against the “*commanders*” (vv. 12, 14). They behave as “*creditors*” (v. 12), robbers (v. 14); they extort under the guise of legal process (v. 15). (The feeling against such figures during the Roman period is illustrated by the destruction of debt records at the time of the seizure of the Temple by the *sicarii*, cf. Bammel [1984] 113, 114 and Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.17.6§ 427). Special attention is also given to the loose appearance — and elaborate dress, decoration, and coiffure — of women (vv. 16-24). The number of Greek loan words in the last passage (cf. the Apparatus) may suggest that specifically Hellenistic practices are in mind, in which case comparison might be made with 1 Timothy 2:9 and 1 Peter 3:3. The sort of retribution envisaged is finally pictured in terms of civic destruction (v. 26), and the women’s fate in this predicament is emphasized (4:1).

shame." 4.2 In that time the *Messiah* of the LORD shall be for joy and for glory, and those who perform the law for pride and for praise to the survivors of Israel. 4.3 And it shall come to pass that he who is left will return to Zion and who has performed the law will be established in Jerusalem; he will be called holy, every one who has been recorded for eternal life will see the consolations of Jerusalem, 4.4 when the LORD shall have taken away the filth of the daughters of Zion and banished those who shed innocent blood who are in Jerusalem from its midst, by a command of judgment and by a command of extirpation. 4.5 And then the LORD will create over the whole sanctuary of the Mount of Zion and over the place of the house of the Shekhinah a cloud of glory—it will be covering it by day, and the dense cloud will be as a flaming fire by night; for it shall have glory greater than was promised he would bring upon it, the Shekhinah will be sheltering it as a canopy. 4.6 And over Jerusalem there will be the covering of my cloud to cover it by day from heat and for a refuge and for shelter from storm and from rain.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 *The prophet said, I will sing now for Israel—which is like a vineyard, the seed of Abraham, my friend—my friend's song for his vineyard: My people, my beloved Israel, I gave them a heritage on a high hill in fertile land.* 5.2 *And I sanctified them and I glorified them and I established them as the plant of a choice vine; and I built my sanctuary in their midst, and I even gave my altar to atone for their sins; I thought that they would do good deeds, but they made their deeds evil.* 5.3 *Prophet, say to them, Behold, the house of Israel have rebelled against the law, and they are not willing to*

Apparatus

4:2 "for pride" is the reading of the MT, and Aramaic *rbw* so consistently renders *g'wn* that it is here rendered "pride", as well.

4:3 "for" can be taken as "in", if one follows the reading of B.M. 2211. "Eternal life" may be referred to as a book in which the righteous are recorded. The other extant witnesses, however, unequivocally read "for", and it is perhaps the more natural reading.

4:6 "refuge" (*bvt str*) is related by etymology to the next Hebrew word (*mstwr*).

5:3 "*my case against my people*" is, more literally, "the judgment before me from my people". For the present translation, see the partially similar construction in 1:17, 23, and "before" in the Glossary.

5:5 "for trampling": on the congruence with the MT, cf. Young I, p. 192.

5:10 "*three seahs*" is the equivalent of an ephah (cf. Levy II, p. 136), so that this Targumic innovation is scarcely important.

5:11 "inflaming": Stenning, p. 19, suggests emending the spelling of *mlhyq*, following Levy. In Syriac, however, *lhq* in the aphel may mean "inflame with desire" (so Payne Smith, p. 232). As the present form appears to be an aphel participle, there is no reason for suggesting a spelling change which none of the witnesses supports.

5:13 "*scarcity*" (*bwsrt*) is taken as "drought" (*bswrt*) by Levy, I, p. 109; but there is no textual support for this reading, and Syriac usage again provides a clear analogy (cf. Payne Smith, p. 39, and the comment above).

repent. And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge now my case against my people. 5.4 *What more good did I promise to do for my people that I have not done for them? When I thought they would do good deeds, why did they make their deeds evil?* 5.5 *And now I will tell you what I am about to do to my people. I will take up my Shekhinah from them, and they shall be for plundering; I will break down the place of their sanctuaries, and they will be for trampling.* 5.6 *And I will make them [to be] banished; they will not be helped and they will not be supported, and they will be cast out and forsaken; and I will command the prophets that they prophesy no prophecy concerning them.* 5.7 *For the people of the LORD of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant; I thought that they would perform judgment, but behold, oppressors; that they would act innocently, but behold, they multiply sins.* 5.8 *Woe to those who join house to house, adding the field of oppression to their fields, saying: Until we possess every place—and thinking they will dwell alone in the midst of the land.* 5.9 *The prophet said, This was decreed before the LORD of hosts when I was hearing with my ears: “Surely many houses shall be desolate, large and beautiful houses, without inhabitant.* 5.10 *For because of the sin that they did not give the tithes, a place of ten lots of vineyard shall yield one bath, and a place of a cor of seed shall yield three seahs.”* 5.11 *Woe to those who arise early in the morning to drink, running after old wine, tarrying to depart, spending the evening on their couches, the wine of oppression inflaming them!* 5.12 *And their feasts are by means of lyre and harp, lute and flute and wine; but they do not regard the law of the LORD, or see the work of his might.* 5.13 *Therefore my people go into exile because they did not know the law and their honoured men die of hunger and their multitudes of scarcity, of drought.* 5.14 *Therefore Sheol has enlarged its appetite and opened its mouth beyond measure, and their honoured men and their multitudes go down, their throng and he who is strong among them.* 5.15 *And man is humbled and men’s strength is faint and the eyes of the haughty are humbled.*

Notes

4:2–4:6 The vindication which balances the foregoing reference to retribution is far more specific in the Tg than it is in the MT. “*The Messiah*” (derived from “branch” in the Hebrew text, cf. Jeremiah 23:5; 33:15; Zechariah 3:8; 6:12 for the messianic associations of the term) appears as the focus of the “pride” and “praise” effected by “the doers of the law” (v. 2, cf. v. 3). These shall enjoy, on their return to Zion, “*the consolations of Jerusalem*”, even “*eternal life*” (v. 3). (The last phrase corresponds to the well known Johannine expression.) But even this positive imagery involves the removal of the violence which now prevails in Jerusalem by a word of command (v. 4). After this final purification, the seal of God’s “*glory*” will rest on the “*sanctuary*”, now again “*the place of the house of the Shekhinah*,” and more so than even was promised (v. 5). The sanctuary “*cloud*” is the source and emblem of the security of “*Jerusalem*” (v. 6).

5:1–5:15 The passage is introduced as a speech of “*the prophet*” (v. 1), but it quickly becomes clear he speaks on God’s behalf (v. 3). He voices the complaint that the gift of the “*sanctuary*”, and particularly the “*altar*,” is abused by Israel’s misdeeds (vv. 1, 2, 4). They refused to repent (v. 3), and the result is that God will remove his Shekhinah and leave them for spoil (v. 5). The references to the destruction of “*sanctuaries*” is both unusual and surprising in the plural. Contextually, the term should probably be taken in respect of synagogues, which could be thought of as associated with the Temple (cf. Chilton [1982] 18 and Jeremias [1969] 198–207). The rebellious people will be forsaken, not only physically, but spiritually as well (v. 6): the hiatus of prophecy as associated with the departure of the Shekhinah is a well known rabbinic motif (cf. Schäfer [1972]. For the interpretation of rain as prophecy, cf. Tg Micah 2:6 and Drazin (1983) 269.) The remainder of the paragraph is notable for its explicit reference to the economic oppression (vv. 7, 8) and failure to give “*the tithes*” (v. 10) of those whose punishment is sure (v. 9). In both regards, they have ignored the law (vv. 12, 13), and suffer accordingly (vv. 13–15).

5.16 But the LORD is strong in judgment and God, *the Holy One*, is holy in virtue. 5.17 Then shall *the righteous be nurtured and increase* as was said concerning them, and *the righteous* shall possess the possessions of the wicked. 5.18 Woe to those who begin to sin a little, drawing sins with the cords of vanity, continuing and increasing until sins are strong as cart ropes, 5.19 who say: “When will he make haste, will he reveal his wonders that we may see? And let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw near, and let it come, that we may know it!” 5.20 Woe to those who say to the evil ones who prosper in this world, *You are good*, and to the forbearing say, *You are evil; when the light comes to the righteous, shall it not be darkness for the wicked? And the words of the law will be sweet for those doing them and bitterness will come for the wicked, and they will know that in the end sin is bitter to those who commit it.* 5.21 Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes and shrewd in their own sight! 5.22 Woe to those who are heroes at drinking and men of possessions in getting drunk from old wine, 5.23 who acquit *the sinner* because they receive from him *mammon of deceit* and wickedly take away the *innocence* of the *innocent*! 5.24 Therefore they shall be devoured as the chaff in the fire, and as stubble in the flame; *the increase of their strength* will be as rottenness, and *the mammon of their oppression* as the dust which flies; for they have rejected the law of the LORD of hosts, and have despised the *Memra* of the Holy One of Israel. 5.25 Therefore the anger of the LORD was strong against his people, and he lifted up the stroke of his might against them. When he smote them, the mountains quaked and their corpses were thrown out as refuse in the midst of the streets. For all this they did not repent from their sins that his anger might turn from them, and still they intensify their apostasies and still his stroke is about to take retribution from them.

Apparatus

5:16 “God, *the Holy One*” can be construed to agree with the MT, but “holy one” is probably to be understood as a substantive. “The Holy One, blessed be He” was a conventional means of reference to God among the rabbis, and the meturgeman was no doubt familiar with it.

5:17 “*and increase*” is the reading of the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College. The addition is not motivated by any desire for conformity with the MT, nor does it appear to reflect a secondary explanation, and so it is accepted here.

5:19 “will he *reveal*...”: an “and” is included by the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot. Although this reading does not accord with MT, it takes away the epexegetical force of the “*reveal*” phrase in respect of “make haste”. Since the revelation of wonders lies at the heart of the question in the Tg, the variant should be rejected as a perfectly understandable, but prosaic, addition.

5:24 “*flies*” is an instance of etymological play. A nominal form means “blossom” (cf. the RSV), as does the verb in some instances.

5:25 “*their corpses were thrown out*”: the plural construction of the extant witnesses, apart from B.M. 2211 and Reuchlinianus, is accepted, on the grounds that the collective is not characteristic of the Tg, and represents accommodation with the MT.

5:29 “will *destroy*” is the reading of B.M. 1474. The other witnesses simply attest agreement with the MT. But the variant better suits the style of the Tg (cf. 1:9, 28 and van Zijl, p. 189).

5:30 “*and breaking*” is the reading of B.M. 1474 and Reuchlinianus. It is not motivated by a consideration of the MT, and accords with the style of the Tg.

“*the righteous that are*”: Reuchlinianus adds, “like the sun and the moon”. This fetching elucidation is inspired by “light” in the MT, but the meturgeman does not elsewhere apply the term in this way. The reading probably belongs to another Targumic tradition.

5.26 And he will raise a signal for *the Gentiles* afar off, and *call* for him from the end of the earth; and lo, in haste *a king* will come with *his armies* as *speedy clouds*! 5.27 None is weary and none stumbles in his midst; he does not slumber or sleep and his waistcloth is not loose and his sandal-thong is not broken; 5.28 his arrows are sharp, and all his bows are bent, his horses' hoofs are *strong* as flints, and his wheels *are speedy*, *lo*, as the whirlwind. 5.29 His roaring is like a lion and like a young lion he will roar and he will *thunder* and seize *the spoil*, and he will *destroy* and none can rescue. 5.30 And he will *thunder* against it at that *time* like the roaring of the sea, *so that even if the wicked seek help from the inhabitants of the land, he has brought distress and breaking upon them, but the righteous that are in that hour will be hidden from the evil.*

Notes

5:16—5:25 God's "judgment" (v. 16), however, is such that "*the righteous*" will possess the wealth of the wicked (v. 17). Promise, therefore, balances threat (cf. 4:2—4:6). But the threat is still there for those who multiply "sins", tempting "wonders" from God, and perverting the just order — they will suffer by the same law which the "*righteous*" enjoy (vv. 18-20). Their "*possessions*" are a particular object of God's wrath (vv. 22, 24) as well as their extortion in legal matters (v. 23). (In respect of the phrase "*mammon of deceit*", cf. Luke 16:9, 11 and Chilton [1984] 117-123). Yet despite God's righteous anger (vv. 24-25), repentance seems all the further from them (v. 25, cf. Revelation 9:20, 21; 16:9, 11).

5:26—5:30 The form of the punishment is specifically that "*a king* will come with *his armies*" of "*Gentiles*" (v. 26). The wicked will have no recourse from the total destruction (vv. 29, 30); only "*the righteous*" will have protection (v. 30).

CHAPTER 6

6.1 In the year that King Uzziah was struck with it, the prophet said, I saw the glory of the LORD resting upon a throne, high and lifted up in the heavens of the height; and the temple was filled by the brilliance of his glory. 6.2 Holy attendants were in the height before him; each had six wings; with two he covered his face, that he might not see, and with two he covered his body, that he might not be seen, and with two he ministered. 6.3 And one was crying to another and saying: “Holy in the heavens of the height, his sanctuary, holy upon the earth, the work of his might, holy in eternity is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is filled with the brilliance of his glory. 6.4 And the posts of the temple threshholds quaked from the sound of the speech, and the sanctuary was filled with the dense cloud. 6.5 And I said: “Woe is me! For I have sinned; for I am a man liable to chastisement, and I dwell in the midst of people that are defiled with sins; for my eyes have seen the glory of the Shekhinah of the eternal king, the LORD of hosts! 6.6 Then there was given to me one of the attendants and in his mouth there was a speech which he took before him whose Shekhinah is upon the throne of glory in the heavens of the height, above the altar.

Apparatus

6:6 “*there was given*,” (שָׁוַי) becomes “*there flew*” (שָׁטַף) in the Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot. The reading appears to represent an accommodation to the MT; “*there was granted*” (שָׁרַי) in the First Rabbinic Bible plays on the spelling of the secondary variant, but virtually restores the meaning of the original formation.

6:10 “*dull*” reflects word play. The verb has links with the meaning “to be fat”, cf. Jastrow I, p. 548.

6:11 “*desolate*”: this term (תְּרוּבָה) does not normally render the present Hebrew equivalent (cf. van Zijl, p. 66).

6:13 “*they will again*” might more literally be rendered, “*they will return and they will be*”.

“*for scorching*” is an unusual usage, but in context the meaning seems clear (See Dalman, p. 367).

6.7 And he *arranged [it in]* my mouth and said: “Behold, *I have placed the words of my prophecy in your mouth*; and your *sins will be taken away* and your *guilt atoned for*.” 6.8 And I heard the voice of the *Memra* of the LORD which said: “Whom shall I send to prophesy, and who will go to teach?” Then I said, “Here I am! Send me.” 6.9 And he said, “Go, and speak to this people *that hear indeed*, but do not understand, and see *indeed*, but do not perceive. 6.10 Make the heart of this people *dull*, and their ears heavy and shut their eyes; lest *they* see with *their* eyes and hear with *their* ears, and understand with *their* hearts, and repent and *it be forgiven them*.” 6.11 Then I said, “How long, O Lord?” And he said: “Until *the* cities are *devastated*, without inhabitant, and *the* houses without men, and the land lies *desolate* and *devastated*, 6.12 and the LORD removes the *sons of men* and *devastation* increases in the midst of the land. 6.13 And *one in ten they will be left* in it and *they* will *again* be for *scorching* like *the* terebinth or *the* oak, which when *their* leaves *drop off* appear *dried up*, and even then *they are green enough to retain from them the seed. So the exiles of Israel will be gathered and they will return to their land.*” For the holy seed is *their* stump.

Notes

6:1-6:6 The vision is dated from the time Uzziah was struck with leprosy (v. 1, cf. 2 Chronicles 26:19-21, and Levy II [p. 91]; Jastrow II [p. 875]). The meturgeman may wish to distinguish this vision from that of chapter 1, which is associated with an earthquake near the end of Uzziah's reign (cf. Amos 1:1). From the outset, it is made clear that God's “glory” is seen, which is consistent with orthodox rabbinic thinking (cf. also John 12:41). In a passage associated with the Babylonian Talmud (Kiddushin 49a), R. Judah ben Ilai is portrayed as warning against translations which speak of seeing God directly (cf. Exodus 33:20), *and* against those which speak of seeing some angelic substitute. Rather, the use of the term “glory” is recommended: such a usage avoids the Charybdis of thinking of God as visible and the Scylla of replacing him with an angel. This discussion, which is worked out in respect of Exodus 24:10, accords with the practice of the Isaiah Targum. Far from running any risk of multitheism by referring to angels instead of God (cf. Segal [1977]), the meturgeman pictures the seraphim as mere “attendants” whose entire purpose is to serve modestly (v. 2; cf. the similar interpretation of this verse in the Pesigta de Rab Kahana 9.43-45). The cry of the angels refers to God's sanctity in three respects: (1) “*the heavens of the height, his sanctuary*,” (2) the earth, and (3) eternity (v. 3). The locus of the last two spheres of sanctity is evident, but the meaning of the first phrase is not immediately clear. The idea seems to be that the sanctuary itself is “*in the heavens of the height*”, a phrase which already appears in v. 1. The phrase appears again in v. 6, this time in association with the Shekhinah. At this point, the meturgeman's heavenly geography becomes clearer: the threat to remove the Shekhinah (cf. 5:5) has become a reality, and the prophet sees the Shekhinah in heaven, whence it will one day return (cf. 4:5, cf. Goldberg [1969]). The angelic cry occupied an important place in Jewish liturgy (cf. Flusser [1963]; [1973-4], and Werner [1945-6]).

6:7-6:13 “*Prophecy*” is what cleanses the prophet, and his commission is to prophesy and teach (vv. 7, 8). He is sent to say words which seem to have been cited by Jesus (vv. 9, 10, cf. Mark 4:12 and Chilton [1984] 90-98). Comparison with 19:22 demonstrates that there was no necessity to decipher the healing phrase with a reference to forgiveness, so that this feature of the agreement of this passage with Jesus' teaching is all the more striking. The picture of devastation which follows does not add substantively to what we can read in the MT (vv. 11-12) but there is an innovative reference to the return of Israel's “*exiles*” at the close (v. 13). This surprising development of the tree imagery balances the preceding threat, and confirms the post-70 perspective of the passage.

CHAPTER 7

7.1 And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz, son of Jothan, son of Uzziah, king of *the tribe of the house of Judah*, that Rezin the king of Syria with Pekah son of Remeliah the king of Israel came up to Jerusalem *to wage war* against it, and he was not able to conquer it. 7.2 And it was made known to the house of David: “*The king of Syria has allied himself with the king of Israel*,” *to come up against him*. And his heart with the heart of his people *quaked as the shaking of trees of the forest before the wind*. 7.3 And the LORD said to Isaiah, “Go forth now to meet Ahaz, you and a remnant *which did not sin and repented from sin*—your *disciples*—at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, *which is* on the highway to the field *where the fullers spread cloth*, 7.4 and say to him, ‘Take heed and be quiet, do not fear, and do not let your heart *quake* because of *the two kings, who are as these smoldering firebrands, at the strength of the anger of Rezin and Syria and the son of Remeliah*, 7.5 because Syria, with Ephriam and the son of Remeliah, has devised evil against you saying, 7.6 “*Let us go up against the land of the house of Judah and annex them and let us set them with ourselves, and set up whoever is suitable to us as the king within it*.” 7.7 Thus says the LORD God: It shall not stand, and it shall not come to pass. 7.8 For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin. (And *at the end of sixty-five years the house of Israel will cease to be a kingdom*.) 7.9 And the head of Ephriam is Samaria and the head of Samaria is the son of Remeliah. If you do not believe *the sayings of the prophets*, surely you shall not be established.”

7.10 Again *the prophet of the Lord* spoke with Ahaz, saying, 7.11 “Ask a sign from the LORD your God; *ask that a great wonder be done for you on earth or that a sign be shown to you in the heavens*.” 7.12 But Ahaz said, “I will not ask, and I will not put the LORD to the test.” 7.13 And he said, “Hear now, O house of David! Is it too

Apparatus

7:3 “a remnant...repented” translates the Hebrew clause “a remnant shall return” (RSV: “Shearjashub”).

7:11 “great” is the reading of B.M. 1474, which here enhances the deviation from the MT and emphasizes that either alternative would be awesome. This emphasis is part of the point of the Targumic interpretation at this point. “*in the heavens*” is innovative, in that the MT speaks only of the space above.

7:18 “the ends of” appears in the MT, before “rivers” (RSV: “at the sources”). The phrase is associated with Egypt, out of conformity to the MT, in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College.

7:19 “of the *city*” represents *hbtw* in the MT, and the distant similarity to *byt* (“house”, “building”, or “place”) might be a factor in this interpretation. The “ravines of buildings” are, in effect, a city’s open squares. Cf. the end of the verse.

7:20 “*with nets among the inhabitants*,” which refers here to trapping victims, is translated by Stenning, p. 26, as referring to clubs and saws. This follows the suggestion of Levy II, p. 137. But Levy’s suggestion is built on the supposition that “thornbushes” in the last verse is the inspiration of the rendering (cf. the term *sbk*), which seems strained. While “clubs” might in certain contexts be an appropriate translation of *sbk*, it is certainly not at 3:18, the only other occurrence in the Tg. Any rendering of *mgry* (“inhabitants” here, and “saws” in Stenning) is bound to be difficult to justify, as this is the only usage in the Tg. But the Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot alter “nets” to read “borderers”, thus taking the second term in the direction I propose. Jastrow II, p. 949, suggested accepting this variant and taking “neighbours” as a gloss, but there is no textual support for that solution, and it assigns priority to the generally less reliable witnesses. The present solution is an attempt to make sense of the variant without assigning exaggerated importance to it. Indeed, the variant in the Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot is taken simply as an alternative spelling of “nets” by Levy II, p. 137, so that it is far from a certain index of meaning.

little *that you are wearying the prophets*, that you weary *the words of my God* also? 7.14 Therefore the *LORD* himself will give you *the sign*. Behold the young woman is pregnant and shall bear a son and shall call his name Immanuel. 7.15 He shall eat curd and honey *before* he knows to refuse the evil and to *accept* the good. 7.16 For before the child knows to refuse *the evil* and to *accept the good*, the land before whose two kings you are *distressed* will be *abandoned*. 7.17 The *LORD* will bring upon you and upon your people and upon your father's house days which have not come since the day that [*those of*] *the house of Israel were divided against those of the house of Judah*— the king of Assyria.” 7.18 And it will come to pass in that *time* that the *LORD* will *call to a people of military units of mighty men that are as numerous as flies, and will bring them from the land of Egypt, and to the tough men of the armies who are powerful as bees, and bring them from* the ends of the land of Assyria. 7.19 And they will come and all of them *dwell in the squares of the city, and in the clefts of the rocks, and in all the deserts of thornbushes, and in all the famed buildings*. 7.20 In that *time* the *LORD* will *kill* by means of *them as someone is slain with a sharp sword, with nets among the inhabitants* in the areas beyond the river—by means of the king of Assyria—the *king and the people of his armies he will destroy as one*, and also the *rulers*. 7.21 And it will come to pass in that *time* that a man will *preserve* a young cow and two sheep. 7.22 And it will come to pass that because of the abundance of *good* he will eat curd; for all *the righteous who are left in the midst of the land will be nurtured with curd and honey*. 7.23 And it will come to pass in that *time* that every place where there used to be a thousand vines, worth a thousand *mina* of silver, will be turned into briars and thorn. 7.24 With arrows and bows *they will come there, for all the land shall be briars and thorn*; 7.25 and as for all the hills *of the house of Judah* which were *tilled with a hoe*, you will not come there for fear of briars and thorn, but it will become a place where *herds of oxen lie* and a place where *folds of sheep stay*.

Notes

7:1-7:9 Aside from an expected emphasis on *repentance* (v. 3) and *prophecy* (v. 9), most of the innovations in the Tg are of an explanatory nature. The policy of annexation — even though ascribed to Assyria — is described in terms which may have been influenced by a knowledge of Roman administrative practice (v. 6). The policy of incorporating territory into the Empire, giving its inhabitants certain civic rights under the protection of law, and establishing a client king, was pursued in respect of Israel until more direct intervention was held to be necessary (cf. Bruce [1982] 30-38). The reference in v. 9 to a prospective failure to believe “*the prophets*” reverses the promise articulated in 2 Chronicles 20:20.

7:10-7:25 Far from being taken as prediction of a messianic figure (cf. Matthew 1:23), the present paragraph speaks of the judgment which follows on the prophetic offer of wonders and signs (vv. 10, 11, 13). The divine judgment is unequivocal, more military (v. 18) and specifically directed against the city (v. 19) than in the MT, and at least some period of occupation seems to be involved. As in the case of the previous paragraph, an experience of Roman rule may to some extent underlie the description of Assyrian domination. In this connection, v. 20 might be taken to be reminiscent of gladiatorial slaughter. (For “*mina*” [v. 23], cf. Luke 19:12-27; the term also makes sense within Semitic usage [cf. Daniel 5:25]). The promise of v. 22 is specifically directed towards “*the righteous*,” and the perspective of the entire passage is Judean (v. 25); “*Israel*” here is used unusually of the northern kingdom (v. 17), which had revolted against the Davidic monarchy and suffered deportation at the hands of the Assyrians.

CHAPTER 8

8.1 And the LORD said to me, “Take a large tablet and write upon it *in clear writing*, ‘*He is hastening to plunder the spoil and to take away the booty.*’ 8.2 And I will get reliable witnesses before me, *the curses which I threatened to bring in the prophecy of Uriah the priest, behold, they have come; even so all the consolations which I promised to bring in the prophecy of Zechariah the son of Jeberekiah I am about to bring back.*”

8.3 And I went unto the prophetess, and she became pregnant and bore a son. Then the LORD said to me, “Call his name ‘*He is hastening to plunder the spoil and to take away the booty*’; 8.4 for before the child knows how to cry ‘My father’ or ‘My mother,’ the *possessions of Damascus and the booty of Samaria will be captured before the king of Assyria.*”

8.5 And *the Memra of the LORD* spoke to me again, saying: 8.6 “Because this people despised *the kingdom of the house of David which leads them gently* as the waters of Shiloah that flow gently, and *are pleased with Rezin and the son of Remeliah*, 8.7 therefore, behold, the *LORD is bringing and bringing up against them the armies of the Gentiles which are as numerous as the waters of the river, strong and hard*, the king of Assyria and all his *armies*; and he will rise over all his channels and go over all his banks. 8.8 And he will pass through into *the land of the house of Judah as an overflowing river*; he will reach to *Jerusalem* and *the people of his armies will fill the open places of your land, O Israel.*” 8.9 *Bind yourselves together, you peoples, and be shattered; give ear, all you at the ends of the earth; strengthen yourselves and be shattered, strengthen yourselves and be shattered.* 8.10 Take counsel together, but it will pass away; speak the word, but it will not be confirmed, for *our God is our help.* 8.11 For the LORD spoke thus to me when *the prophecy was strong, and taught me not to walk in the way of this people*, saying: 8.12 “Do not call

Apparatus

8:2 “I will get” might also be taken as an imperative, “Get.”

8:8 “*Israel*” the MT and the Antwerp Polyglot read “Immanuel.”

8:10 “*our help*” might also be rendered “at our assistance,” as in the translation of Tg Jeremiah within the present series.

8:13 “let him be” (second occurrence): in the Sperber edition (p. 17), the phrase appears as “let her (or: it) be”. But Stenning has “him” (p. 29), and neither editor lists variant readings at this juncture. Especially because the word is pointed as if it read “him” in Sperber, it is taken as a misprint.

8:14 “*the house of Israel*” is absent from all extant texts but B.M. 2211. But the omission is explicable on the grounds of grammar: the collective subject with a plural verb is a bit odd. Cf. 7:17, on the ground of which the reading is here accepted, in agreement with Sperber, p. 17, and Stenning, p. 29. In the translation, “those of” is supplied in the interests of English grammar; elsewhere, parentheses will be used to bracket such supplied formations.

a rebel everyone whom this people calls a rebel, and do not fear what they fear, nor call their strength strong. 8.13 *But the LORD of hosts, him you shall call holy, and let him be your fear and let him be your strength.* 8.14 *And if you do not attend, his Memra will become among you an avenger, and a stone of smiting and a rock of stumbling to the two houses of the princes of Israel, a breaking and stumbling, because those of the house of Israel have been divided against those of the house of Judah that dwell in Jerusalem.* 8.15 *And many shall stumble against them; and they shall fall and be broken; and they shall be caught and be taken.”*

Notes

8:1–8:4 There is a greater specification of God as the source of the spoiling in Tg as compared to the MT. This is achieved both in wording (vv. 1, 3) and with reference to the “*prophecy*” of Uriah (v. 2). The prophetic priest mentioned in Jeremiah 26:20–23 is probably in the meturgeman’s mind. Jerusalem, against which this Uriah prophesied, is therefore perhaps envisaged, even though the text continues to speak of Damascus and Samaria, in accordance with the MT. But, balancing this curse, indeed concomitant with the threat of destruction, there are also Jerusalem’s “*consolations*” to be reckoned with (v. 2). The name “Zechariah” seems to have caused the meturgeman to think in terms of the biblical book which carries this name (cf. chapter 14 in particular). The interpretation of the Tg agrees with that of Aqiba in this case (cf. Bacher [1965] 325; Komlosh [1965] 40, and Lamentations Rabbah 5.18–20§ 1).

8:5–8:15 The judgment against Jerusalem is portrayed in military terms (vv. 7, 8). It is occasioned by the rejection of Davidic leadership (v. 6) in favour of false alliances (vv. 9–14).

8.16 *Prophet, guard the testimony, do not testify among them, for they do not attend. Seal and hide the law; they do not wish to learn from it.* 8.17 *The prophet said, For this reason I prayed before the LORD, who threatened to take up his Shekhinah from those of the house of Jacob, and I besought before him.* 8.18 *Behold while I exist, and the children whom the LORD has given me, signs and portents will be realized among us which were promised to come upon Israel, that if they see and repent, the decree which was decreed against them—that they go into exile so as not to appear before the LORD of hosts, whose Shekhinah is on the Mount of Zion—will be void.* 8.19 *And when the Gentiles that you are among say to you, “Inquire of oracles and necromancy, those who chirp and twitter,” is not this the way of the Gentiles who serve idols? The people inquire of their idols, the living from the dead.* 8.20 *So you will say to them, To the law that was given to us we listen for testimony! But you will go into exile among the Gentiles and they will speak to you according to this word, From now on he has no one whom he will seek and beseech.* 8.21 *And stumbling will pass through the land, and there will be distress and hunger; and when they see hunger and affliction, they will curse and despise the name of their image and their idol, and turn upward to beseech deliverance after the decree has been sealed and they are not able to do so;* 8.22 *and they will seek help from the inhabitants of the land, for there will come upon them distress, hunger and weariness, distress, darkness and scattering.*

CHAPTER 9

9.1 *For none that comes to distress them will be wearied.* As in the former time the people of the land of Zebulun and the people of the land of Naphtali have gone into exile, and a strong king will exile what remains of them, because they did not remember the prodigy of the sea, the wonders of Jordan, the war of the Gentile fortresses.

Apparatus

8:17 “*threatened*” is more literally rendered “said,” but the term can be variously construed, depending on whether threat or promise is the context at hand (cf. vv. 2, 18).

8:18 “*Shekhinah*” is here inspired by the verbal equivalent (*škn*) in the MT (RSV: “dwells”).

8:20 “*seek*” (*šhr*): cf. the Hebrew term “dawn” (*šhr*).

8:21 This verse is cast in the singular in both the MT and the Tg, which makes the flow from v. 20 smoother. But the sense of the pronoun is collective.

9:1 appears as 8:23 in printed editions of the MT and the Tg; the present enumeration follows the RSV.

9:5 “*stain marks are not . . .*”: cf. Tg Jeremiah 2:22.

9.2 The people, *the house of Israel*, who walked in *Egypt* as in darkness *have come out to* see a great light; those who dwelt in a land of the shadows of death, on them light shined. 9.3 You have increased the people, *the house of Israel*, you *have increased* their joy; they rejoice before you as with the joy of war victors, as men who rejoice when they divide the spoil. 9.4 For you *have removed* the yoke of his *mastery* and the *rule* of his *tribulation*, the *ruler* who was *subjugating* him is broken as on the day of Midian. 9.5 For *all their dealing is with wickedness; they are defiled with sins, even as a garment kneaded in blood whose stain marks are not cleansed from it, just as there is no use for it except to be burned in the fire. Therefore the Gentiles who are strong as the fire will come upon them and kill them.* 9.6 *The prophet said to the house of David, For to us a child is born, to us a son is given; and he will accept the law upon himself to keep it, and his name will be called before the Wonderful Counselor, the Mighty God, existing forever, "The messiah in whose days peace will increase upon us."* 9.7 *Great pride will belong to those who perform the law, and for those who keep peace there will be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, to establish it and to build it with judgment and with virtue from this time forth and forever. By the Memra of the LORD of hosts this will be done.*

Notes

8:16–9:1 The people's rejection of the law becomes the ground of God's silencing of the prophet, and is associated with the threatened departure of the Shekhinah (vv. 16, 17). V. 18 expresses a final offer of repentance while the Shekhinah is still present, so that exile might be averted. But the assumption in the remainder of the paragraph is that the offer is not taken up. The perspective of vv. 19–9:1 is that of exile from Jerusalem: "Gentiles" invite Israel to serve idols, to "inquire of the living from the dead"; the verb rendered "inquire" may also be translated "seek," which makes v. 19 reminiscent of Luke 24:5. Belated appeal will be made to the law; idolatry will belatedly be rejected (vv. 20, 21), but the Gentiles will despise Israel as a people bereft of its god (v. 20). Their "distress" will be complete (vv. 21–22), as complete as that of long ago, when the exodus, the crossing of Jordan, and the glorious possession of the promised land were forgotten (9:1).

9:2–9:7 Against the most somber of backgrounds, the prediction of victory for the entire "*house of Israel*" (not merely the divided northern kingdom, cf. 7:17) is all the sweeter (vv. 2, 3). It will involve the breaking of the present master (v. 4), and yet the Gentiles have enough power left to serve as instruments of God's wrath (v. 5). Precisely in the context of vindication and judgment, the messianic teaching of the Tg is introduced (vv. 6, 7). The distinction between the Messiah and God is made out clearly in the Targumic rendering of v. 6 (cf. Levey [1974] 153 n. 31).

9.8 The *LORD* has sent *the word* among *those of the house of Jacob*, and it *is heard* in Israel; 9.9 and all *this people* *are puffed up*, Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria, who say in pride and in *strength* of heart: 9.10 “*The leaders go into exile*, but we will *appoint better than they*; *the possessions have been plundered*, but we will *purchase even finer ones*.” 9.11 So the *LORD strengthens* the adversary of *Israel*, Rezin, against him, and *will stir up* his enemies. 9.12 Syria on the east and the Philistines from the west *plunder the possessions of Israel* in every *place*. For all this *they did not repent of their sins* that his anger *might turn from them* and *still now they intensify their apostasies* and still *his stroke is about to take retribution from them*. 9.13 And the people did not turn to *the service of him* who *brought the stroke upon them*, nor seek *teaching before the LORD of hosts*. 9.14 So the *LORD destroyed* from Israel head and *commandant, ruler and tyrant* in one day— 9.15 the elder and honoured man is the head, and the *scribe* who teaches *deceit* is *faint*; 9.16 for *the honoured ones* of this people lead them astray, and its *princes annihilate*. 9.17 Therefore the *LORD* does not *cause* its young men *to rejoice*, and has no compassion on its fatherless and widows; for all *of them are godless and evil* and all *their mouths speak deceit*. For all this *they did not repent of their sins* that his anger *might turn from them* and *still now they intensify their apostasies* and still *his stroke is about to take retribution from them*. 9.18 For *the retribution of their sins* burns like the fire, it *destroys transgressors and sinners*; and it will *rule over the remnant of the people* and *destroy the multitude of the armies*. 9.19 Through wrath *before* the *LORD of hosts* the land is *desolate* and the people are like a *burning coal of fire*; no man spares his brother. 9.20 He *plunders from the south* and is hungry, and *destroys from the north*, and is not satisfied; they *plunder* each his neighbour’s *possessions*. 9.21 *Those of the house of Mannaseh with those of the house of Ephraim and those of the house of Ephraim with those of the house of Manasseh* together are *allied to come against those of the house of Judah*. For all this *they did not repent of their sins* that his anger *might turn from them* and *still now they intensify their apostasies* and still *his stroke is about to take retribution from them*.

Apparatus

9:14 “*commandant*” is a Greek loan word (*hēgemōn*), as is “*tyrant*” (*turannos*).
 9:15 “*faint*” takes up imagery used earlier in the Tg (cf. 2:9, 11, 17; 3:4; 5:15).
 9:16 “*annihilate*” is taken as a passive in Aruch, but the similar form at 49:19 suggests the meaning is active.
 9:20 “*south*” and “*north*” take their meaning from the directional senses of “right” and “left” in the MT (cf. 54:3).
 10:2 “*fatherless*”: B.M. 1474 reads “*the peoples*”.

CHAPTER 10

10.1 Woe to those who decree decrees of *robbery*, and write *toilsome writs*, 10.2 to turn aside the poor from judgment and to rob *what they please from* the needy of my people *in judgment*, that *the goods of* widows may be their spoil, and that they may plunder *the possessions of the* fatherless! 10.3 And what will you do on the day *that your sins are visited upon you* and in the *tumult of distress* which will come from afar? Where will you flee for help, and where will you leave your glory? 10.4 *Then outside of your land you will be bound as* prisoners and *outside of your cities you will be cast as* slain. For all this *they did not repent of their sin that his anger might turn from them* and *still now they intensify their apostasies and still his stroke is about to take retribution from them.*

Notes

9:8–9:21 The doom prophesied to Israel (v. 11), even as the Messiah is promised, is spoken of in social and economic terms (vv. 10, 20). Chapter 3 has already made clear to us the sort of socio-political structure which is set aside, and this is referred to again (vv. 14, 15, 16). The idea of the people's repeated refusal to repent is also brought to expression (vv. 12, 13, 17, 21; cf. 5:25 in the Notes).

10:1–10:4 The punishment is vividly expressed in terms of exile (v. 4), and is linked to the people's refusal to repent (cf. above).

10.5 Woe to the Assyrian, the *ruler's staff* of my anger, and a *messenger sent from me against them with a curse*. 10.6 Against the godless *congregation* I will send him, and against the people *that transgressed my law* I will give him command, to plunder the spoil and *to take away* the booty, and to set it for trampling like the mire of the streets. 10.7 But he does not so intend, and *in his heart* he does not so think; but *he determines in his heart* to destroy and *to bring peoples to an end* without pity; 10.8 for he says, “Are not *all* my *rulers* altogether reckoned as kings before me? 10.9 Will not Calno be suppressed before me as Carchemish? Will not Hamath be handed over into my hand as Arpad? As *I did to* Damascus, so *I will do to* Samaria. 10.10 As my hand has found kingdoms *that worship* idols, and their images—*how do they differ* from those of Jerusalem and Samaria?— 10.11 shall I not do to Jerusalem and the *images that are in her* as I have done to Samaria and her *idols*?” 10.12 And it will come to pass when the *LORD* has finished *doing* all *that he promised* on the Mount of Zion and in Jerusalem I will punish the *deeds* of the *high* heart of the king of Assyria and the *celebrity* of his haughty eyes. 10.13 For he says: “By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am intelligent and I have *exiled* the peoples *from province to province*,

Apparatus

10:6 “it” refers to the “congregation”.

10:10 “*that worship*” in B.M. 2211, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews' College is changed to the participle in some witnesses (B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot).

10:13 “*by strength*” derives from taking the Hebrew term *byr* in reference to a man, as contrasted to a bull, as in the RSV. Cf. also the end of the verse.

10:16 “*a stroke*” (*mh*) can have the sense of “plague”, so it is not distant from the Hebrew *rzwn*. On the other hand, the Aramaic term is related to the verb “to strike”, as used in v. 15, and this association is not present in the MT.

and plundered *the cities of their celebrity*; I have brought down *by strength the inhabitants of strong fortresses*. 10.14 And my hand has found like a nest the *possessions* of the peoples and as men gather eggs that have been forsaken so I have gathered all *the residents of the earth*; and there was none that *moved from there or settled there* or opened *his mouth or uttered a word*. 10.15 *Is it possible that the auger shall boast over him who drills with it, saying, Did not I drill?* Or will the saw magnify itself against him who *saws, saying, Did not I saw?* When one lifts *the rod to strike, the rod does not strike, but* he who *strikes with it*. 10.16 *Because the king of Assyria has magnified himself*, therefore the master *of the world*, the LORD of hosts, will send a *stroke* among his *princes*, and instead of *their glory they will surely burn as the burning of fire*. 10.17 And it will come to pass that *the master of the light of Israel and his Holy One, his Memra will be strong as the fire, and his words as the flame*; and he will *kill and destroy his rulers and his tyrants in one day*. 10.18 And the glory of his many *armies* and his *warriors, their soul with their body*, he will destroy, and he will *be broken and fugitive*. 10.19 And the remnant of the *people* of his *armies* will *come to an end, to become a people of small number and they will be esteemed a faint kingdom*.

Notes

10:5–10:19 The military triumph of “*the Assyrian*” (v. 5) is portrayed in even more distinctive terms than are found in the MT (cf. vv. 13, 14), perhaps because the meturgeman was familiar with destruction at the hands of the Romans. By the same token, God’s retribution is said to come upon the military hierarchy (vv. 16–19; cf. 2:13 in the Notes in respect of “*tyrants*”).

10.20 And it will come to pass in that *time* that the remnant of Israel and those who have escaped of the house of Jacob will no more lean on the *peoples* that *subjugated them*, but will lean on the *Memra* of the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. 10.21 A remnant *that have not sinned, and that have repented from sin*, the remnant of the house of Jacob will return to *serve before* the mighty God. 10.22 For though your people, Israel, be *many* as the sand of the sea, a remnant *that have not sinned and that have repented from sin*, for them *there are done prodigies which are mightily wrought and carried out with virtue*. 10.23 For the LORD God of hosts is accomplishing the extirpation and *destruction of all the wicked of the earth*. 10.24 Therefore thus says the LORD God of hosts: “O my people, who dwell in Zion, do

Apparatus

10:25 “*the abomination*” (*tbl*) results from a word play on the MT term *tbl ytm* (“their destruction” in the RSV). The play was lost on the scribe of B.M. 1474, who wrote *tkl*. For the possible reference of the phrase, cf. Daniel 9:27; 11:31; 12:11.

10:26 “*stroke*” (on the second occasion) is the reading of B.M. 2211, which departs from all the other extant witnesses, which attest “*mastery*”. The latter variant is easier to understand, and is probably of an explanatory nature. “*Stroke*” in any case suits the style of the Tg at this point (cf. v. 16).

10:27 “*Messiah*” is inspired by the appearance of the term “*fatness*” (*šmn*) in the MT (cf. the RSV margin). The meturgeman takes the word in the sense of oil used for anointing.

10:29 “*lodge themselves*”: the meturgeman uses a verb (*btw*), and *lhwn* therefore acquires reflexive force. In the MT, *lnw* (*sic*) is present, and is related possessively to the noun *mlwn*.

10:30 “*poor*” is the suggestion of Levy II, p. 229, and accords with Young’s translation of the MT (I, p. 368). Jastrow II, p. 1094, followed by Stenning, p. 38, takes *nyh* as a proper noun in the construct state. The Hebrew term *nyh* is rendered as a verb in the RSV (“*answer her*”).

10:32 “*Assyria*”: after this term there is a major addition. The additional material is present in all extant witnesses with the exception of the Antwerp Polyglot, but a marginal note in B.M. 1474 associates the reading with the “Targum Jerushalmi”. In fact, the haggadic expansion contained in the addition is unusual within the Tg, and probably does reflect a different interpretative tradition. Stenning, pp. 224, 225, accepts the assignment to the “Targum Jerushalmi”, although he points out that Lagarde did not so head it in *Prophetae Chaldaice* (cf. Grelot [1983] 203, 204). Lagarde’s reticence, given the extensive manuscript attestation for the addition, was appropriate, but on stylistic grounds the longer reading should be considered an uncharacteristic addition to the Targum. The margin of Reuchlinianus reads as follows:

While the day was still young and he had much time to enter Jerusalem, behold Sennacherib the King of Assyria set out and made three bivouacs, and he took with him four thousand of the King’s sons, wreathed with crowns which rested upon them. And he took with him four thousand warriors wielding swords, and those who draw bows, and warriors as swift as the eagle, who ran before him, one hundred thousand. The number of his armies was two hundred and six myriads, less one, because his armies were about to lack at the hands of Gabriel, one of the commanders and ministers before the LORD. The length of his armies was four hundred parasangs, the neck of his horses, from end to end, forty parasangs. They were divided into four. The first army, when they crossed the Jordan, drank all the waters of the Jordan. The second army, when they crossed the Jordan, the hooves of their horses brought up water, and they drank water. The third army, when they crossed the Jordan, did not find water, and they dug wells and drank water. The fourth army, when they crossed the Jordan, there was in it Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar his son in law, and Adrammelech and Sharezer and Esarhaddon his sons were crossing the Jordan, and the earth was sending up dust from the ground...

After this point, the reading of the addition follows the main text closely (although there is express reference to Sennacherib and his arrogance). Even B.M. 2211 represents a form of the Targum Jerushalmi here. Following the statement about Gabriel, it reads:

So did they come against Abraham, our father, when they cast him into the midst of the burning furnace of fire, and so are they about to come with Gog and Magog when the world achieves its end, to be delivered.

“*Is not this...*”: substantially the same words are cited in Sanhedrin 95a.

10:33 “*press*” is spelled very nearly as the MT term “*violence*”.

not be afraid of *the Assyrian* when he strikes you with *his ruler's staff* and *throws his mastery* against you *as* in the manner of Egypt. 10.25 For in a very little while *the curses* will come to an end *for you that are of the house of Jacob*, and my anger will be upon *the peoples who commit the abomination of their destruction.*" 10.26 And the LORD of hosts will *bring upon him a stroke*, as when he struck Midian at the *cleft of Oreb*; and his *stroke will pass from you as the mastery of Pharaoh passed from you* at the sea, *for prodigies are done for you as* in the manner of Egypt. 10.27 And it will come to pass in that *time* that his *stroke will pass from you*, and his *yoke* from your neck, *and the Gentiles will be shattered before the Messiah.* 10.28 He has come to Aiath; he has passed through Migron, at Michmash he will appoint *the masters of his armies*; 10.29 they *cut through*, cross over *the Jordan*, at Geba they *lodge themselves*; *the inhabitants of Ramah are shattered*, the men of Gibeah of Saul have fled. 10.30 *Lift up* your voice, O *men of the* daughter of Gallim! Hearken, O *you who dwell in Laish, who reside in poor Anathoth!* 10.31 *The men of Madmenah are shattered*, *the inhabitants of Gebim go into exile.* 10.32 *While the day was still young and he had much time to enter, behold Sennacherib the king of Assyria came and stood at Nob, the city of the priests, opposite the wall of Jerusalem. He answered and said to his forces, "Is not this Jerusalem, against which I stirred up all my armies? Behold it is fainter than all the fortresses of the peoples which I have suppressed with the strength of my hands."* He stood over it shaking his head, waving back and forth with his hand *against the mount of the sanctuary which is in Zion, and against the courts which are in Jerusalem.* 10.33 Behold, the master of the world, the LORD of hosts *casts slaughter among his armies as grapes trodden in the press*; and the great in stature will be hewn down and the strong will be humbled. 10.34 And he will slay the *mighty men of his armies who make themselves mighty with iron, and his warriors will be cast on the land of Israel.*

Notes

10:20–10:34 The repentance of Jacob (v. 21) consists especially of a refusal to co-operate with the occupying power (v. 20), and has glorious results (v. 22). "*The wicked*" are to be destroyed (v. 23) in favour of Jacob (v. 25), and the new release is compared to the liberation from Egypt (v. 26). Quite innovatively, "*the Messiah*" is assigned a prominent place in the shattering of Gentile rule (v. 27) by military means (v. 28). "*Sennacherib*" appears as the image of the Gentile military arrogance (v. 32) which God will utterly demolish (vv. 33, 34). This might be taken as an allusion to experience of Parthian or Sassanid hegemony. On the other hand, Smolar and Aberbach (1983) 76-79 explain how the passage might be taken in respect of the Roman advance on Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 11

11.1 And a *king* shall come forth from the *sons* of Jesse, and the *Messiah* shall be *exalted* from the *sons of his sons*. 11.2 And a *spirit* before the LORD shall rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, a spirit of counsel and might, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD. 11.3 And the LORD shall *bring him near* to his fear. And he shall not judge by the sight of his eyes, and he shall not reprove by the hearing of his ears; 11.4 but in *truth* he will judge the poor, and reprove with *faithfulness* for the needy of the *people*; and he shall strike the *sinners* of the land with the *command* of his mouth, and with the *speaking* of his lips the wicked shall *die*. 11.5 And the righteous shall be *all around* him, and the faithful shall be *brought near* him. 11.6 In the days of the *Messiah* of Israel shall *peace increase in the land*, and the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little *suckling* child shall lead them. 11.7 The cow and the bear shall feed; their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. 11.8 And the suckling child shall play over the hole of an asp, and the weaned child shall put his hands on the adder's *eyeballs*. 11.9 They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the *fear* of the LORD as the waters cover the sea. 11.10 And it will come to pass in that *time* that to the *son of the son* of Jesse who is *about to* stand as an ensign to the peoples, to him shall *kingdoms be obedient*, and his *resting place* will be glorious. 11.11 And it will come to pass in that *time* that the LORD will extend his *might* yet a second time to *deliver* the remnant of his people which is left, from Assyria, and from Egypt and from Pathros, and from *India*, and from Elam, and from *Babylon*, and from Hamath, and from the *islands* of the sea. 11.12 And he will raise an ensign for the *peoples*, and will assemble the outcasts of Israel, and *bring near* the *exile* of Judah from the four *winds* of the earth. 11.13 And jealousy shall *pass* from those of the *house of Ephraim*, and

Apparatus

11.2 “a spirit” (the second usage) is also indefinite in the MT. The fact that the meturgeman does not have “the holy spirit” here makes the usage quite unequivocally indefinite. For the same reason, the insertion of the term “prophecy” in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College is to be rejected as secondary; prophecy in the Tg is quite specifically connected with the holy spirit (cf. 40:13; 42:1; 44:3; 59:21).

11.3 A marginal addition in Reuchlinianus reads as follows:

Behold, the Messiah, who is about to come, will be teaching judgment, and will judge by the fear of the LORD.

11.4 “wicked” is preceded by “Romulus” (*rmy/ws*; a cipher for Rome) in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles. As Levy I, p. 66, points out, this figure was also known in medieval Jewish mythology as an opponent of the Jews. Levy also notes his connection to the figures of Gog and Magog, which seems to indicate that the present reading is to be associated with the interpolation at 10:32. The thesis of Levey (1972) that the reading is determinative for the date of the Targum, is therefore not tenable (cf. Chilton [1982] 6). The related spellings, *rml/gws* and *rml/gwz*, appear in marginal readings in Reuchlinianus, while *rml/gwn* appears in the manuscript itself.

11.8 “*eyeballs*” is derived from *m'wrh* in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 22).

11.10 “*resting place*” might also be rendered “camping place”; for this and similar expressions, cf. M. McNamara (1979)..

12.1 “you” is plural in the Tg (unlike the MT), although the singular appears in some witnesses.

“*now*”: after this term, “that I have repented to the law” is added in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles.

12.2 “*song*” is replaced by “*trust*” in Ms. Jews’ College. The reading is not well enough attested to be accepted, but it marks an interesting (and—for this witness—unusual) departure from the MT. It is probably occasioned by the use of the corresponding verb earlier.

those who distress *from those of the house of Judah* will be destroyed. *Those of the house of Ephraim* will not be jealous of *those of the house of Judah*, and *those of the house of Judah* will not distress *those of the house of Ephraim*. 11.14 And they shall *ally themselves, shoulder to shoulder, to strike* the Philistines *who are in* the west, together they will plunder the sons of the east. They shall put forth their hand against Edom and Moab, and the sons of Ammon shall *be obedient to* them. 11.15 And the LORD will *dry up* the tongue of the sea of Egypt, and will *lift up* the *stroke of his might* against the *Euphrates* by *his prophets' command*, and strike it into seven streams, and *they* will walk *in it* with sandals. 11.16 And there will be a highway for the remnant of his people which is left from *the Assyrian*, as there was for Israel in the day *they* came up from the land of Egypt.

CHAPTER 12

12.1 And you will say at that *time*: “I will give thanks *before* you, O LORD, *since I sinned before you* your anger was upon me; *now* your anger will turn *from me*, and you will *have compassion* on me. 12.2 Behold, *in the Memra* of the God of my salvation I trust, and will not be *shaken*; for *the awesome one*, the LORD, is my strength and my song; *he has spoken by his Memra*, and he has become *for me* a saviour.” 12.3 And you will *accept a new teaching* with joy from *the chosen ones of righteousness*. 12.4 And you will say at that *time*: “Give thanks *before* and LORD, *pray* in his name, make known his deeds among the peoples, proclaim that his name is *strong*. 12.5 Sing praises *before* the LORD, for he does *prodigies*; this is *disclosed* in all the earth. 12.6 Shout, and sing, O *congregation* of Zion, for *the great one has promised to rest his Shekhinah* in your midst, the Holy One of Israel.”

Notes

11:1-11:16 “Branch” language once again (cf. 4:2 in the Notes) occasions a reference to the messianic king, although the term is *nsr* at this point in the MT (v. 1). The just rule of the Davidic figure is emphasized in terms which may be related to the *Psalms of Solomon* (cf. v. 4 and *Psalms* 17:35). In any case, the focus on the co-operation of the righteous, and the reign of peace which will ensue, is openly stated (vv. 5, 6). Particularly, the element of military triumph comes to expression (v. 10), especially when one bears in mind that 10:27, with its innovative reference to the shattering of the Gentiles by the Messiah, provides the governing context for the messianic teaching in chapter 11. At the same time, the shift in geographical focus which is achieved in v. 11 attests the eastern provenience of the document as a whole (cf. the comment on 10:32 in the Notes), although the term “*islands*” would suggest that sight has not been lost of the Romans. (The explicit reference to the “*Euphrates*” in v. 15 develops a sense which is already present in the MT, but also attests the shift in geographical focus.) The association in the mind of the meturgeman between the Messiah and a revived prophetic ministry becomes evident in v. 15.

12:1-12:6 The positive content of the messianic reign is spelled out in terms of forgiveness (v. 1), “*new teaching*” (v. 3), prayer (v. 4), “*prodigies*” (v. 5) and the “*Shekhinah*” (v. 6).

CHAPTER 13

13.1 An oracle of a cup of cursing to give Babylon to drink which Isaiah the son of Amoz prophesied. 13.2 On the fortress which dwells contentedly raise the signal, lift up a voice to them; wave a hand and they will enter its gates willingly. 13.3 I myself have commanded my appointed ones, I have also summoned my mighty men, and the strong ones of my renown will avenge my anger on them. 13.4 A noise of a tumult on the mountains, as of many people! A noise of an uproar of kingdoms, of peoples gathering together! The LORD of hosts is mustering armies in war. 13.5 They come from a distant land, from the ends of the heavens, the LORD and instruments of a cup of a curse before him, to destroy all the wicked of the earth. 13.6 Wail, for the day which is about to come from the LORD is near; as spoil from the Almighty it will come. 13.7 Therefore all hands will be feeble and every heart of man will melt, 13.8 and they will be dismayed. Distress and birth pangs will seize them; they will be in anguish like the woman in travail. They will be astonished at one another, their faces of flame. 13.9 Behold, the day from the LORD comes, cruel, with wrath and strength of anger, to make the earth a waste, and he will destroy its sinners from it. 13.10 For the stars of the heavens and their constellations will not give their light; the sun will be dark at its going forth and the moon will not give its light. 13.11 And I will punish those who reside in the world for [their] evil and the wicked for their sins, and I will put an end to the pride of the wicked and humble the strength of the strong ones. 13.12 I will love those who fear me more than the gold in which the sons of men glory, and those who perform the law more than the refined gold of Ophir. 13.13 Therefore I will shake the heavens, and the earth will shake from its place, in wrath before the LORD of hosts and in the day of the strength of his anger. 13.14 And it will come to pass that like a hunted gazelle, and like sheep with none to gather them, so every man will turn to his

Apparatus

13:2 “willingly” in Aramaic (*mndbyn*) is remarkably close in spelling to “nobles” (*ndybym*) in the MT.

13:6 “Almighty” renders “Shaddai” in both texts.

13:9 “comes” is changed to “is about to come” in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles. The alteration is in the interests of conventional style (cf. 13:6).

13:12 “glory” (*yqr*) is derived from “make rare” (*rqr*) in the MT.
“refined gold”: the relation between the two words for “gold” seems clear in the Tg, especially as compared to the rare words used in the MT.

13:13 “shake...shake”: cf. 1:2; 13:8. The MT can be translated in this way as well, but the associations with the verses cited are not operative. In any case, the Hebrew text has two different verbs in the present verse.

13:16 “young men”: the scribe of B.M. 1474 alters his text to “sucklings” out of deference to the MT.

13:20 “dwelt in from generation to generation” represents the active construction of both texts. The meturgeman repeatedly uses “dwell” (*šr*) for various Hebrew verbs in vv. 20-21, including *rbs* (cf. 11:6, 7 and below) and *škn* (as here).

13:21 “dwell” (second occurrence): cf. above. The present usage renders *škn* in the MT.
“play” is a possible translation of the Hebrew text (cf. Young I, p. 421), and the clear meaning of the Tg (cf. 11:8, and especially 34:14).

own people, and every man will flee to his own land. 13.15 Whoever is found *in it* will be *slain*, and whoever *enters into the besieged fortresses* will be *slain* by the sword. 13.16 And their *young men* will be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses will be plundered and their wives ravished. 13.17 Behold, I am *bringing* the Medes against them, who *are not influenced* by silver and *are not pleased with* gold. 13.18 And their bows will *cut* young men *asunder*, and they will have no mercy on the *offspring* of the womb, and their eyes will not pity children. 13.19 And Babylon, which was formerly the joy of the kingdoms, the *boast* of the Chaldeans' pride, will be like the *overthrow*, when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. 13.20 It will never be inhabited or dwelt in from generation to generation; no Arab will *spread* his tent there, no shepherds will *dwell* there. 13.21 But wild beasts will *dwell* there and their houses will be full of howling creatures; and there ostriches will *dwell*, and there *demons* play. 13.22 And *cats* will *growl* in *their* palaces and jackals in the *places of their* pleasures; and the time of the *shattering* of Babylon is close at hand, and its days will not be *put far off*.

Notes

13:1–13:22 The motif of “*a cup of a curse*” occurs repeatedly in the Tg (cf. 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:11, 13; 23:1), and regularly — as here (v. 1) — refers to the prophetic announcement of complete doom. Innovative features in this chapter include an emphasis on retribution (v. 3), and the express use of military imagery (vv. 2, 15). The reference to “*cats*” in v. 22, especially as related to the repeated reference to “*Babylon*,” becomes especially pointed when one considers that such creatures figure prominently in Sassanid art (cf. Porada [1963] 178-227).

CHAPTER 14

14.1 For the LORD will have compassion on *the house of Jacob* and will again be pleased with Israel, and will make them dwell in their own land, and *proselytes will be added* to them and will *rely* on the house of Israel. 14.2 And peoples will *lead* them and bring them to their place, and the house of Israel will possess them in the land of the *Shekhinah* of the LORD as male and female slaves; and they will be captors of their captors and they will *subjugate* those who *enslaved* them. 14.3 And it will come to pass in the day when the LORD gives you rest from your pain and *mastery* and the hard *subjugation* which you were *subjugated* with, 14.4 you will take up this proverb against the king of Babylon, and you will say: “How the *mastery* of him who *enslaved* us has ceased, *the strength of the sinner has come to an end.*” 14.5 The LORD has broken the *strength* of the wicked, *the rule of sinners*, 14.6 *which was* striking peoples in the *strength of unceasing blows, subjugating* the peoples *in strength, subjugating and* unrelenting. 14.7 The whole earth is at rest, quiet; they break forth into singing. 14.8 Indeed, *rulers* rejoice over you, *the rich in possessions, saying, ‘From the time that* you were laid low, no *destroyer* comes up against us.” 14.9 Sheol beneath is moved in your regard, to meet you when you come, it rouses *the mighty ones* for you, all *the rich in possessions; they have raised* from their thrones all the kings of the *peoples*. 14.10 All of them will answer and say to you: ‘You too have become as sick as we! You have become like us!’ 14.11 Your *glory* is brought down to Sheol, and the *songs* of your *music; beneath you they will set a maggot, and above you the worm.* 14.12 How you

Apparatus

14:4 “*sinner*” is literally “debtor,” as is usual. The meturgeman seems to have rendered *mrhbb*, as attested at Qumran, as well as in Greek and Syriac versions, rather than *mdhbb* (as in the MT).

14:9 “in your regard” renders both texts.

“*rich*” (*tjrj*) derives from a word play on “he-goats” (*twdym*) in the MT, which is rendered as a metaphor in the RSV.

14:12 “*the bright star*” is, of course, Venus (cf. Pauli [1871] 48 n. 9), referred to as “*the day star*” (*hyll*) in the MT.

14:14 “*higher*” (*lly*) is a word play on “*most high*” (*lywn*) in the MT.

14:19 “*miscarriage*” is quite unlike the MT, as the RSV margin indicates. With Symmachus, the meturgeman perhaps took *nyr* (“branch”) as *npl*.

14:20 “*as one*” (*khd*) sounds much as “*joined*” (*thd*) in the MT.

14:21 “*fill*” is made reflexive in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and in the Antwerp Polyglot. There is a general tendency in the Tg to render usages of *ml*’ reflexively, but cf. 27:6 for the present idiom.

“*enemies*” is singular in Reuchlinianus, Ms. Jews’ College, and the Antwerp Polyglot.

14:22 “*destroy*”: cf. 9:14 for another instance of *kyry* rendering *krt* in the MT. The present usage is therefore not radically innovative, although it is unusual.

14:26 “*he purposed*”: the form of the verb is causative (Stenning [p. 50]), although it is a passive participle in B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus and the Second Rabbinic Bible. Against Stenning, the active reading of B.M. 2211 should be retained, since the passive accommodates to the MT.

“*kingdom*” is construed as plural, to agree with the number of “*nations*” in the MT, in B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus and Ms. Jews’ College.

14:27 “*raised up*”: Reuchlinianus, by changing *mrmm*’ to *dmrmm*’, may be taken to mean “*of my exalted one*”. Even with *d*, however, as in v. 26 (and cf. B.M. 1474), the change is not unequivocal in meaning, and 23:11 should be accepted as the key to the idiom. Stenning (pp. 50, 51), who translates “*the exalted one*” in v. 26, agrees that this is not the appropriate rendering of v. 27. But this involves postulating the usage of two different idioms in adjacent sentences.

14:29 “*wounding*” (*mpryt*) is a term which is not clear in meaning, although it quite evidently does not mean “*flying*” (cf. the MT). The present translation is suggested by Dalman, p. 354, but Levy II, p. 304, accepts the suggestion of Kimhi that it means “*brooding*”. Stenning, p. 50, would appear to take Dalman’s guidance. Jastrow II, p. 1244, offers another option by referring to the Rabbinic notion that the very look of a basilisk dismembers a man. Not surprisingly, there are several variant readings here.

are cast out from the height, you that were resplendent among sons of men as the bright star among the stars! You are banished to the earth, you that were a slaughterer among the peoples! 14.13 And you said in your heart, ‘I will ascend to the height; above the people of God I will set the throne of my kingdom; and I will sit in the mount of assembly in the far north, 14.14 I will ascend above all *the people*, I will be higher than them all.’ 14.15 But you are brought down to Sheol, to the depths of the pit of *the place of perdition*. 14.16 Those who see you will stare at you, they will ponder, *they will say*, ‘Did this man make the earth tremble, waste the kingdoms, 14.17 make the world like the desert and raze its cities; did he not open *the gate* for his prisoners?’ 14.18 All the kings of *the Gentiles* lie in glory, each in his tomb; 14.19 but you are cast out from your sepulchre like a *hidden miscarriage*, covered with those slain, those pierced by a sword, who go down to the pit of *the place of perdition* like a corpse trodden under foot. 14.20 You will not be as one of them in the sepulchre, because you have destroyed your land, you have slain your people. May the seed of evildoers nevermore be established! 14.21 Prepare slaughter for *their* sons because of the *sins* of their fathers, lest they rise and possess the earth and fill the face of the world with *enemies*.”

14.22 “I will be revealed to take retribution from them,” says the LORD of hosts, “and I will destroy from Babylon name and remnant, *son* and *son’s son*, says the LORD. 14.23 And I will make it a possession of porcupines, *a house of devastation*, stagnant pools of water, and I will sweep it as they sweep with the broom, and I will deliver it to destruction,” says the LORD of hosts. 14.24 The LORD of hosts has sworn, saying: “As I have planned, so shall it be, and as I have purposed, so shall it stand, 14.25 to break *the Assyrian* in my land, and upon *the mountains of my people* I will trample him; and his *mastery* shall pass from them and his *yoke will be broken from their necks*.” 14.26 This is the purpose that *he* purposed concerning the whole earth, and this is the *might that is raised up, by which he rules* over every kingdom. 14.27 For the LORD of hosts has purposed, and who will remove it? And his *might is raised up, and there is none* who will turn it back. 14.28 In the year that King Ahaz died this oracle of prophecy came: 14.29 “Rejoice not, all you *Philistines*, because *the ruler* who was *subjugating* you is broken, for from *the sons of the sons of Jesse the Messiah* will come forth, and his *deeds* will be *among you* as a *wounding serpent*. 14.30 And the *needy of the people* will be *nurtured*, and the poor in his days will dwell in safety; but *he* will kill your *sons* with hunger and *the remnant of your people* he will slay. 14.31 Wail for your gates; cry for your cities! All of you *Philistines are shattered!* For the avenger comes out of the north, and there is none that *delays* in his assemblies. 14.32 And what will the messengers of *the Gentiles announce as good news?* For the LORD has founded Zion, and in her the *needy* of his people will *trust and rejoice*.”

Notes

14:1-14:21 “*The house of Jacob*” is promised the addition of “*proselytes*” in a land in which the “*Shekhinah*” is restored (vv. 1, 2), while Babylon is the butt of a taunt against the broken strength of its sinful mastery (vv. 4-6). Particular relief is expressed by rich rulers (v. 8), who presumably have borne the economic brunt of tyranny. But any such relief is to be short lived, in that the rich are also named as the principal inhabitants of Sheol (v. 9, cf. 53:9). (For the idea that imagery of 14:12 has influenced Luke 10:18, cf. Tàrrech [1978]). The arrogance of the king of Babylon is spelled out in vv. 13-14, and the Targumic-innovation is to replace the idea of his challenging God in the MT with the motif of his attempt to dominate “*the people of God*.” Indeed, the chief threat he poses is that of propagating “*enemies*” (v. 21).

14:22-14:32 The taunt (cf. above) is backed up by God’s promise of destructive “*retribution*” (vv. 22-27, cf. v. 31). The positive imagery of v. 30 is related specifically to the messianic reign (v. 29). In view of chapter 11, there is perhaps nothing surprising in the mention of the Messiah in an oracle of peace, but it may just be that the connection between serpent imagery and messianic thinking was something of a conventional one (cf. John 3:14).

CHAPTER 15

15.1 An oracle of *a cup of cursing to give Moab to drink*. For the *fortification* of Moab is *plundered in the night while they sleep; and the fortress of Moab is suppressed in the night while they slumber*. 15.2 *They* go up to the houses of Dibon to the high places to weep; over Nebo and over Medeba *the Moabites* wail. On all *their* heads is baldness, every beard is shorn; 15.3 in *their* streets they gird on sackcloths; on *their* housetops and in *their* squares *all of them* wail, *cry out and weep*. 15.4 And *the inhabitants* of Heshbon and Elealeh cry out, their voice is heard as far as Jahaz; therefore the armed men of Moab *cry out; they wail for their soul*. 15.5 *In their heart the Moabites hope* to flee to Zoar, a part grown heifer. For at the ascent of Luhith they go up weeping; *on the descent to Horonaim they announce as good news the cry of those broken in war*; 15.6 the waters of Nimrim are *a* waste; the grass is withered, the new growth fails, the verdure is no more. 15.7 Therefore the *remnant of their possessions which they purchased will be plundered and their border on the western sea will be taken from them*. 15.8 For the cry has gone around the border of Moab; *they* wail as far as Eglaim, *they cry out* [as far as] Beer-elim. 15.9 For the waters of Dimon are full of *the blood of those slain*; yet I will *appoint* upon Dimon *a gathering of armies, a king with his armies will go up* for those of Moab who have escaped and *to plunder* the remnant of *their* land.

Apparatus

15:1 “*fortification*” gives the sense of the Aramaic word, but it was used as a conventional name for Ar of Moab. To this extent, the Targumic rendering is not innovative. Cf. Levy II, p. 408, Jastrow II, pp. 702, 703, Dalman, p. 216

15:3 “*weep*” is cognate to the verb in the MT, but the Tg presents it as an active participle.

15:4 “*cry out*” and “*wail*” are given in reverse order in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College.

15:5 “*a part grown heifer*” takes up the suggestion of Jastrow II, p. 1674, and opposes Levy’s “*a great heifer in the third year of age*” (II, p. 542). Stenning, p. 52, takes the phrase as a proper noun, in apposition to “*Zoar*” (cf. Jeremiah 48:34). The Hebrew text is notoriously difficult, and Young I, p. 458, n. 14, renders it just as Levy does the Tg. The meturgeman is clearly attempting to represent the Hebrew text faithfully here. Although Stenning’s suggestion is attractive, in that Jeremiah 48:34 has the same geographical context (cf. also Isaiah 15:4), the two places are there plainly distinguished, while they are closely identified in the present passage. In fact, Tg Jer. 48:34 uses the phrase in apposition to Horonaim, just as it is used here in respect of Zoar. This militates against the idea that it is a proper noun. It seems rather a disparaging reference to the size and strength of the places involved. The scribe of Ms. Jews’ College seems at least to have understood the phrase in this way when he wrote “*slaughter*” (*tbh*) for *cry* (*swh*). The reading is not original, however; the scribe made several errors in writing this verse.

“*those broken in war*” renders “*breaking*” (*sh* in the MT).

15:7 “*western*” (*m'rb'h*) is derived from “*willows*” in the MT (*h'rbym*) by word play.

16:1 “*They will*”: the term “*send*” in the MT is in the imperative mood.

“*the one as*”: the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Reuchlinianus read “*the ones*”, and the latter three of these witnesses have “*in the desert*”.

“*the mount*” is given as “*at the mount*” by Kimhi, which is presumably the sense of the Tg.

16:2 “*fording*” involves play on *m'bri* in the MT, in that the basic sense of the root ‘*br*’ is exploited. Stenning, p. 52, suggests a conjectural emendation, in order to make the participle feminine. The sense, however, is that the ladies of Moab will be reduced to the status by boy bearers. Reuchlinianus reads *lh* instead of *lhw*, which makes the activity reflexive. The reading misses the point that the ladies are subjected, working for others.

16:3 “*place*” and “*at the height of*” are the readings of both texts. The sense of the reading is obscured by Stenning, p. 52, who alters the text conjecturally (cf. above) to accord with the MT. The point is that the shadow is to be as intensely dark as noontime is intensely bright.

“*bring not . . . near*” is a somewhat imprecise phrase. The meaning appears to be, “*Do not gather from exile*” (cf. 11:12; 41:18; 43:5; 54:7; 56:8, where *qrh* is employed in the sense suggested). The idea of exile has been derived from the verbal form “*betray*” (*tgly*) in the MT.

16:13 “*from that time*” is also the meaning of the MT (cf. Young I, p. 461).

CHAPTER 16

16.1 *They will offer tribute to the Messiah of Israel who prevailed over the one as the desert, the mount of the congregation of Zion.* 16.2 And it will come to pass that like a bird which they drive from its nest and is cast out, so will the daughters of Moab be sent out, fording for them at the Arnon. 16.3 “Take counsel, hold counsel; place your shadow as the night, as the day at the height of noon; hide the outcasts, bring not the dispersed near; 16.4 let the outcasts sojourn among you, kingdom of Moab; be a refuge to them from plunderers. When the one who distresses comes to an end, the plunderer is destroyed, and all those who were trampling the land come to an end, 16.5 then the throne of the Messiah of Israel will be established in goodness and he will sit on it in truth in the city of David, a judge and seeking judgment and doing truth.” 16.6 We have heard of the princes of Moab who pride themselves exceedingly, their glorious ones and their self-indulgent ones, and their haughtiness was not equal to their retribution. 16.7 Therefore the Moabites wail, the Moabites, all of them, cry out. Of the men of their strong fortress they will say, *Indeed they are suppressed.* 16.8 For the armies of Heshbon are plundered, the companies of Sibmah are killed; the kings of the Gentiles kill their rulers, they reached to Jazer, strayed to the desert, their outcasts cut [their way] through, cross over the sea. 16.9 Therefore just as I brought armies against Jazer, so I will bring killers against Sibmah; I will drench Heshbon and Elealeh with tears; for upon your harvest and your vintage plunderers have fallen. 16.10 And joy and gladness are gathered from the fruitful field; and in the vineyards they will not exult and they will not play; no pressers press out wine in the presses; I have made wine pressing cease. 16.11 Therefore the Moabites’ bowels growl like the lyre, and their hearts are mournful over the men of their strong fortress. 16.12 And it will come to pass when Moab is tired and wearies himself upon the high places, and he comes to the house of his idol to beseech, he will not prevail. 16.13 This is the word which the LORD spoke concerning Moab from that time. 16.14 But now the LORD has decreed, saying, “In three years, like the years of the hireling, the glory of the Moabites will come to an end, in spite of all the tumult of the mob, with a very little remnant, all their glory will come to an end.”

Notes

15:1-15:9 As in the case of chapter 13, the “cup of cursing” brings with it military doom (vv. 1f.). The same observation obtains in the case of v. 5. The verb “to announce” (*bsr*) is generally used of military triumph; the usage here is ironic. (The term may be the source of the New Testament usage of *euanggelizomai*, cf. Revelation 14:9 and P. Stuhlmacher [1968]). Most notably, the picture of financial desolation is attached quite directly to the dominant military power of the Mediterranean: the Roman Empire (v. 7). That is the force which threatens “Moab” — presumably, Nabatean Arabs, cf. Smolar and Aberbach (1983) 56, 57 — from “the western sea.”

16:1-16:14 The picture of a gift sent freely in the MT is transformed in the Tg into one of submission to the Messiah by means of tributes (v. 1). But Moab’s submission is not merely a matter of defeat; his “kingdom” (v. 4) has a specific purpose, a role to play, in the events leading up to the messianic reign (cf. 15:7f.). Moab is to serve as a refuge from “the one who distresses” until the Messiah’s throne is established in the “goodness” of just judgment (v. 5). (This may explain why in v. 3 the “shadow” of Moab is said to be now “as the night” [against Israel] and now “as the day” [in favour of the outcasts].) Because the Moabites have a positive function in protecting “the dispersed” (v. 3) from the power which occupies the land, punishment is directed against “the princes of Moab,” “their glorious ones” (v. 6), rather than against the people as a whole. But military suppression is the end of the retribution against the “self-indulgent” of the Moabites (vv. 6-11). Although “the kings of the Gentiles” are the instrument of the killing, it is God who brings them (vv. 8, 9). Still, it is in view of false “glory,” their idolatry, that the Moabites’ doom comes (vv. 12-14).

CHAPTER 17

17.1 An oracle of a cup of cursing to give Damascus to drink. Behold Damascus is removed from sovereignty and will become a ruined fortress. 17.2 Their cities will be deserted and desolate; they will be a resting place for flocks of sheep, and they will lie down, and none will scare away. 17.3 And rule will cease from Ephraim, and sovereignty from Damascus; and the remnant of notables from Syria will be like the glory of the children of Israel, says the LORD of hosts. 17.4 And it will come to pass in that time that the glory of Jacob will be humbled and the wealth of his glory will go into exile. 17.5 And it will be as a harvester gathers standing grain, and with his arm harvests ears, and as one gleaning ears in the plain of the mighty men. 17.6 And gleanings will be left in it as the stripping of the olive tree—two or three berries on the top of the highest bough, four or five on the rebellious branch, thus shall the righteous be left alone in the midst of the world among the kingdoms, says the LORD God of Israel. 17.7 In that time a man will rely on the service of his maker, and his eyes will hope in the Memra of the Holy One of Israel; 17.8 and he will not rely on the altar, the work of his hands, and what his fingers prepared will not be established, the Asherim or the sun idols. 17.9 In that time their strong cities will be as a fortress that is desolate and ruined, and is forsaken before the children of Israel, and it will become a waste. 17.10 For you have forsaken the God of your salvation, and you have not remembered the fear of the strong one whose Memra is your help; for you were planted, as a select plant, and multiplied corrupt deeds, 17.11 in the place where you were sanctified to be a people, there you corrupted your deeds, and even when you went into the land of my Shekhinah's house, where it was fitting for you to serve, you forsook my service and served idols; you put off a day of repentance until the day of your breaking came, then your sorrow was inconsolable. 17.12 Ah, a tumult of many peoples, who growl like the growling of the sea! And a roaring of kingdoms which roar like the roaring of strong waters! 17.13 Kingdoms roar like the roaring of many waters, but he will rebuke him, and he will flee far away and be chased like chaff on the mountains before the wind and the whirling dust before the storm. 17.14 At the evening time, behold, as if he was not! Before the morning, as if he is no more! This is the portion of those who rob us and the lot of those who plunder us.

Apparatus

17:6 “stripping”: cf. Jastrow 1, p. 164.

17:7 “rely on”: cf. 10:20. This appears to be a case when the meturgeman presupposes a different Hebrew text from the one available to us in the MT (cf. Stenning, p. xviii). \mathfrak{h} seems to have been replaced with \mathfrak{n} .

17:8 “rely on”: cf. above.

“altar”: only B.M. 2211 has the singular here, but in view of the MT it is the preferred reading.

17:11 “inconsolable” might more literally be rendered “breathless,” or “exhausted of soul.”

17:13 “him” (with its related forms) is collective in both texts.

18:2 “plundered” (*bzw*, at the end of the verse) derives from word play on “divide” (*bz'w*) in the MT.

18:4 “quiet” is used intransitively in the MT (but first in the sequence of verbs).

“sunshine”: the MT does not actually have the word for “sun”, while the Tg does.

18:5 “blossom”: the meturgeman replaced a noun with a causative infinitive form of the cognate stem (*prh*).

18:6 “dwell in the summer”: a noun phrase here renders the verbal form in the MT, cf. also “spend the winter”.

“him” (twice) is the reading of both texts. The scribe of B.M. 2211 erroneously adds another ‘/ afterward. All the other extant manuscripts omit it.

18:7 “he will bring him”: “he” is the collective agent of punishment, and “him” the collective object of desolation; both make their appearance in vv. 5, 6.

CHAPTER 18

18.1 Ah, the land to which they come in ships from a far land, their sails spread out as the eagle which soars on its wings, which is beyond the rivers of *India*; 18.2 which sends messengers by the sea and in fishing boats upon the waters! Go, swift messengers, to the people robbed and plundered, to the people which was strong before and continually, the people robbed and plundered whose land the *Gentiles* plundered. 18.3 All you who inhabit the world, you who dwell on the earth, when a signal is raised on the mountains, you will see the signal, and when the trumpet is blown, you will hear deliverance. 18.4 For thus said the LORD to me: “I will give rest to my people, *Israel*, and give them quiet, and I will be pleased from my holy dwelling to do good to them; blessings and consolations I will bring to them speedily like clear heat in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.” 18.5 For before the time of harvest comes, the tree to blossom and its unripe grape [to] flower, he will kill the rulers of the *Gentiles* with the sword, and their strong ones he will take away and remove. 18.6 They shall all of them be left to the birds which are on the mountains and to the beasts of the earth. Every bird of the heavens will dwell in the summer upon him, and every beast of the earth will spend the winter upon him. 18.7 In that time he will bring him with a gift before the LORD of hosts, to the people robbed and plundered, and to the people which was strong before and continually, the people robbed and plundered whose land the *Gentiles* plundered, to the land where the name of the LORD of hosts is called, whose *Shekhinah* is on the Mount of Zion.

Notes

17:1-17:14 The prediction of military decimation is now extended to Damascus, Ephraim, and to Syrian “notables” (vv. 1-3, cf. vv. 5, 9), and exile is specified as the punishment of Jacob (v. 4). It is, perhaps, worth observing that the *Damascus Document* also associates Damascus with the exile of Israel (VII.15; XIX.34; XX.12, cf. Davies [1982]). Although the intersection of the Qumran covenanters’ ideology with that of the meturgeman is far too incomplete to warrant speculation as to the precise relationship between them, such passages in the Tg may suggest that the Qumran documents should not be considered to be so sectarian that they do not sometimes represent early Judaism generally (cf. Wieder [1952] and Brownlee [1956]). The divine purpose within these events becomes clear in v. 6: everything is to be stripped from “the rebellious branch” except “the righteous.” Those who are left will turn from idols to trust and serve the true God (vv. 7, 8). By means of v. 9, the perspective shifts to those who have not repented, but have “forsaken” God and the “service” of his “Shekhinah’s house” (vv. 10, 11). Clearly, the rebellious ones among Israel are understood as addressed here, but in two senses such people are associated with Gentiles. First, Damascus is the leading context of the curse from v. 1 (and is also joined with Ephraim and Syria from v. 3). Second, the innovative references to “kingdoms” in vv. 12, 13 reinforces the idea that the same punishment overtakes other nations as now confronts Israel. To an important degree, the MT already associates Israel and the nations, but the association becomes all the more emphatic in the Tg because the address to Israel in vv. 10, 11 is accentuated, while the reference to Gentiles in vv. 11-14 is also more explicit.

18:1-18:7 The mention of “*India*” rather than “Ethiopia” in the Tg changes the geographical focus of the text radically (v. 1, cf. 11:11). It probably reflects the Babylonian perspective of this passage, in that trading relations involving the Indian Ocean were established from an early period. (Reference may be made to the finds of pearls from the Indian Ocean at Hasanlu described by Porada [1963] 102 [cf. Rosh Hashannah 23a], and to the Achemenid expansion into India.) Eagles featured prominently in the decorative art of the Sassanids (Porada [1963] 226), which may be sufficient to explain the imagery of the Tg. But it may be worth mentioning that the emblem of the god Ahura Mazda was a winged solar disc (Porada, pp. 139, 145, 147, 148, 151, 154; indeed, at times the winged bearer of the disc would appear to be an eagle, cf. p. 151, figure 81). In that Zoroastrianism (in which Ahura Mazda played a prominent, if not dominant, role) was revived by the Sassanids (cf. Yamauchi [1973] 73), the symbol might have been invoked here to identify the Gentile régime allusively. The perspective of v. 2 is also distinctive. Instead of Egypt sending to Mesopotamia (the “land the rivers divide” in the MT) Babylon sends to the people who have already been “plundered” by Rome. But the move to Babylonia is purely temporary: “The signal” of “deliverance” is about to be raised (v. 3). The people are explicitly identified as “*Israel*,” and “blessings and consolations” are promised them (v. 4). These people are promised the spoils following a military action against “the *Gentiles*” (vv. 5, 6): the people are indeed to be strong once again, and the “*Shekhinah*” is warrant of the promise (v. 7, cf. v. 2).

CHAPTER 19

19.1 An oracle of a cup of cursing to give Egypt to drink. Behold, the LORD is revealed in the cloud of his glory to take retribution from Egypt; and the Egyptians' idols will be broken in pieces before him, and the Egyptians' heart will melt in their bowels. 19.2 And I will stir up Egyptians against Egyptians, and they will wage war, a man against his brother and a man against his neighbour, city against city, kingdom against kingdom; 19.3 and the Egyptians' spirit will melt in their bowels, and I will annihilate their wise men; and they will inquire of idols and sorcery and oracles and necromancy; 19.4 and I will hand over the Egyptians into the hand of a hard master; and a strong king will rule over them, says the Lord of the world, the LORD of hosts. 19.5 And the waters from the sea will be devastated, and their river will be desolate and dry up; 19.6 and the canals will be devastated, and their deep rivers will dry up and be desolate, reed and rush will not come up. 19.7 The greater part of the river will dry up, and will become as its stones, and every place where they sow by the river will dry up, be desolate and not sprout. 19.8 And the catchers of fish are devastated and lament, all who cast a hook in the river; and they will be devastated who spread nets upon the water. 19.9 And the workers in flax will be ashamed, who comb and beat nets from it. 19.10 And the place where one drinks its water will be crushed, the place of those who make dam and gather water, each man for himself. 19.11 The princes of Zoan have

Apparatus

19:2 “wage war” (*rgvhw* *qrh*) differs slightly from the MT (*nlhmw*) in wording, but the meaning of the two texts is the same.

19:5 “from the sea” is in both texts. The reference to the Nile in the RSV is *ad sensum*.

“desolate”: Aramaic *yhrwb* here renders *yhbr* in the MT. The usage departs from the normal practice of the meturgeman, even though it is quite understandable in terms of etymology.

19:6 “canals”: “their” is added in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus and Ms. Jews’ College.

“desolate”: cf. v. 5 in the Apparatus; the same two stems are involved.

19:7 “greater part”: cf. Jastrow II, p. 1455. The meaning of the term (*rwb'h*) might also be “growth”.

19:10 “one drinks” (*šty*) is a play on “its (that is, the land’s) pillars” (*štyh*) in the MT.

“dam” (*sykr*) derives from “hire” (*skr*) in the MT.

19:13 “the Egyptians”: so B.M. 1470, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot and Reuchlinianus (against B.M. 2211, which accords with the MT).

19:14 “deception” is the nominal counterpart of the verb “to go astray”, cf. v. 13 and below. The noun also has associations with the language of idolatry (cf. the Glossary).

“goes astray” involves only slight deviation from “stagger” in the MT, and a cognate stem is used.

19:15 “commandant” (*hgmwn*): cf. 9:14. In both cases, there may be word play on ‘*gmwn* (“reed” in the RSV) in the MT. “tyrant”: cf. 9:14.

19:17 “who makes mention of it to him” renders both texts literally. The sense would appear to be that the prospect for Egypt is so frightening that even one who speaks of it will tremble. The translators of the RSV construe the phrase impersonally, “everyone to whom it is mentioned”. That rendering of the Hebrew is possible, but the meturgeman would probably have used a plural form, had that been the intended sense of the Tg.

19:18 “to be desolate” is a verbal form which seems to render “destruction” (*hrs*) in the MT, which the RSV takes as “sun” (*hrs*) in accordance with the Isaiah Scroll (“a”) from Qumran. The meturgeman perhaps shows an awareness of both possibilities, although his preference would appear to be for the second. Cf. Young II, pp. 49, 50.

19:20 “a judge”: the MT reads “a great one” (cf. Young II, p. 31).

19:22 “their prayer” is quite innovative; the similar phrase in the RSV is supplied.

19:23 “battle”: the same verb is used in v. 2, but is there followed by the noun “war”.

“with” renders the preposition cognate with “into” (*b*), as rendered in the RSV.

indeed *become dull*, the wise men *who counsel Pharaoh a deceitful counsel*. How can you say to Pharaoh, “*We are sons of wise men, and you are a son of kings of ancient times?*” 19.12 Where are your wise men? Let them tell you and know what the LORD of hosts has purposed against Egypt. 19.13 The princes of Zoan have become *dull, the men of Memphis have gone astray; the masters of its districts have led the Egyptians astray*. 19.14 The LORD has *cast in their midst a spirit of deception*, and they have led *the Egyptians astray in all their deeds as the drunken man goes astray and staggers in his own vomit*. 19.15 And *the Egyptians will not have a king who will reign, head or commandant, ruler or tyrant*. 19.16 In that *time the Egyptians will be faint like women and tremble and be broken before the lifting up of the might of the LORD of hosts which he lifts up over them*. 19.17 And the land of *the house of Judah will be a terror to Egypt; everyone who makes mention of it to him will tremble before the purpose of the LORD of hosts which he has purposed against them*. 19.18 In that *time there will be five cities in the land of Egypt speaking the speech of the Canaanite and swearing by the name of the LORD of hosts. Of the city, house of the sun, which is about to be desolate, it shall be said, This is one of them*. 19.19 In that *time there will be an altar established before the LORD in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar before the LORD at its border*. 19.20 And it will be a sign and a witness *before the LORD of hosts in the land of Egypt; for when they pray before the LORD because of their oppressors he will send them a saviour and a judge and he will deliver them*. 19.21 And *the might of the LORD will be revealed to do good to the Egyptians; and the Egyptians will know [how] to fear before the LORD in that time and they will serve with holy sacrifices and with offerings, and they will make vows before the LORD and fulfill them*. 19.22 And the LORD will *strike the Egyptians with a stroke, and he will heal them, and they will return to the service of the LORD, and he will accept their prayer and heal them*. 19.23 In that *time there will be a highway from Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrians will battle with the Egyptians and the Egyptians with the Assyrians, and the Egyptians will serve the Assyrians*. 19.24 In that *time Israel will be a third with the Egyptians and the Assyrians, a blessing in the midst of the earth*, 19.25 whom the LORD of hosts has blessed, saying, “*Blessed are my people whom I brought forth from Egypt; because they sinned before me I exiled them to Assyria, and now that they repent they are called my people and my heritage, Israel*.”

Notes

19:1-19:25 The threat of God's wasting of Egypt as presented in the MT is largely maintained in the Tg, although special attention is given to the prediction that “*the river*,” the Nile, will dry up (v. 7 and vv. 8-10). Further, the utter destruction that awaits Egypt is signalled by the use of such verbs as “*annihilate*” (v. 3) and “*waste*” (vv. 5, 6, 8); indeed, the “*cup of cursing*” formula itself threatens military downfall (v. 1, cf. 15:1 in the Notes). “*Deception*” is all that comes of Egypt's leaders (vv. 11, 14), so that its fall is inevitable (v. 15). (In that “*deception*” is part of the vocabulary of idolatry [cf. the Glossary], religious perversion seems to be in the meturgeman's mind.)

The reference to a Canaanite speaking settlement, swearing “*by the name of the LORD*,” “*which is about to be desolate*” (v. 18) probably reflects the meturgeman's awareness of the destruction of Jewish communities in Egypt early in the second century (cf. Smallwood [1976] 405-406 and Collins [1974] 94, 95). (Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 17, 18 argue that v. 19 corresponds to Aqiba's opinion that the Temple of Onias was not legitimate. In context, however, whatever place is in mind, the meturgeman assumes prayer directed there will be efficacious [cf. vv. 20f.]. But their contention that “*house of the sun*” [v. 18], “*Beth Shemesh*,” refers to Heliopolis [p. 116] is plausible, and accords with the opinion of Pauli [1871] 62 n. 10, although Gordon [1983] 123, 124 believes the reference is to Leontopolis, which was destroyed c. A.D. 73.) Such Jewish Egyptians are the beneficiaries of the promise in vv. 21, 22: for the meturgeman, Egypt *per se* is no blessing (cf. v. 24), but the land of servitude (v. 25). The outcome of explicitly military action in v. 23 is that they are to “*serve the Assyrians*,” but only for a time: repentance is to secure release from Assyria as surely as God brought his people out of Egypt. In other words, the promise of chapter 18 is restated.

CHAPTER 20

20.1 In the year that Tartan came to Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, *waged war* against Ashdod and *suppressed* it,— 20.2 at the time the LORD *decreed* by Isaiah the son of Amoz, saying, “Go and *bind* sackcloth upon your loins

Apparatus

20:1 “Tartan” appears in both texts, with the sense “second in command” in Hebrew (cf. Young II, p. 52). The meturgeman has reproduced the word he found in his Hebrew text, but apparently as a proper noun.

“waged war”: cf. 19:2, where the determined state of the noun is not used. The same idiom is used in 7:1.

20:4 “uncovered” is in the plural in the Tg, corresponding to *hšwpy* in the MT. “Nakedness” (*‘ry*) is a unique occurrence in the Tg, and is related to “nakedness” (*rwt*) in the MT (“shame” in the RSV, for which a synonym is substituted in the Tg). For its form, which the dictionaries do not mention, cf. Syriac *‘ryy*, which is derived from the cognate root (*‘r*) from which the usual term for “nakedness” is derived (cf. Payne Smith, p. 428). The spelling is nonetheless odd, and is corrected in Reuchlinianus and Ms. Jews’ College. Notably, the verb “uncovered” itself is derived from the same root which can refer to exile.

“go into exile” is not as innovative as may at first appear, because the verb (*g/’*) also may mean “to be uncovered”, albeit in a different form.

20:6 “we hoped” is innovative; the similar phrase in the RSV is an expansive translation of *mbpnw* (“our expectation”).

“Until daylight” is emended to “until now” by van Zijl, p. 84, which involves replacing *krn* (so Sperber, p. 40) with *kdn* (cf. *kdw* in 12:1). Stenning’s translation (“hitherto”, p. 40) is strained by comparison, since Reuchlinianus—which he claims to follow (p. 65)—actually reads *kdw*. (*kdw* in the Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot is an alternative form.) Stenning’s rendering is really only supported by Ms. Jews’ College (*kdyn*), since the masculine form better suits “place”. But such emendation is hasty here, even as practised by van Zijl. Although he claims to depart from B.M. 2211 only when it is “absolutely necessary” to do so (1979, “Preface”), the reading he corrects here is supported by B.M. 1474 and the First Rabbinic Bible. This consideration, and the instability of the *kdw* reading militate against van Zijl and Stenning, and in favour of Sperber (p. 40), who stands by *krn*. The sense seems to be, “They struggled all night to be free, but the day finds them caught out”. Admittedly, the absence of the term for “day” (cf. Levy I, p. 389) makes this rendering less than certain, but it seems preferable to the emendations proposed.

21:1 “march” (*mtn*) is a play on the Aramaic word for “oracle” (*mfl*; cf. the MT), for which it is taken in the Second Rabbinic Bible, the Antwerp Polyglot, by Lagarde and Stenning, p. 65.

“whirlpools”: the same term is used for “whirlwind” in 5:28; 17:13. The change of rendering is the result of an alteration in context.

“the south” translates “Negeb” in the MT, rather than merely transliterating it (as in the RSV).

“carried along”: cf. 10:22. The form (*mydbryn*) is to some extent a play on “desert” (*mdbr*).

21:4 “has gone astray” also renders the MT in this case (cf. Young II, p. 59).

“horrors” (*by’wtyn*) is related to “appalled me” (*b’tny*) in the MT.

21:5 The margin of Reuchlinianus presents an innovative interpretation, which reads as follows:

Set the table before Belshazzar king of Babylon, light the lamp, eat and drink! Arise, Michael and Gabriel, the two authorities, take revenge on the kingdom of Babylon, and give dominion to Cyrus and Darius, kings of Persia and Media!

21:7 “many” represents “great” (*rb*) in the MT, which is rendered “very” in the RSV. The term is omitted in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles. But the latter, along with Reuchlinianus, adds a compensating word (*lhhd*, “very”) at the end.

21:8 “standard”: Levy II, p. 156, reads the plural variant of the First and the Second Rabbinic Bibles, and Antwerp Polyglot and Reuchlinianus margin. He suggests that posts for a bulwark might be in mind. He alternatively emends the text to read “flags”. Dalman, pp. 66, 67, following Reuchlinianus proper and Ms. Jews’ College, understands “war chariots”, which is the meaning Stenning also accepts. In view of the meturgeman’s preferred “chariot” usage (cf. v. 7), however, this meaning is quite unlikely. Jastrow II, p. 978, suggests “commissary” (from the Greek *sitōnēs*), but this meaning does not appear likely in context, although it is possible. “Standard” suits the present context, and may be derived from *styw*, meaning column (*stoa* in Greek, cf. Levy’s suggestion, mentioned above). It is an aspect of the military panoply which could be compared to an idol (cf. v. 9). But the present rendering is offered only as another suggestion.

“a lion” (cf. the RSV margin): there is some evidence that lions were a heraldic device among the Sassanids (cf. above and Paroda [1963] 220).

and *pull off your sandals* from your feet,” and he had done so, going *ill clad* and barefoot— 20.3 the LORD said, “As my servant Isaiah has walked *ill clad* and barefoot for three years as a sign and portent against *the Egyptians* and *the Ethiopians*, 20.4 so shall the king of Assyria lead away the captivity of Egypt and the exile of Ethiopia, young men and elders, *ill clad* and barefoot, and *nakedness uncovered*, to the shame of Egypt. 20.5 They will be *broken* and be ashamed because of Ethiopia their *place of safety* and of *the Egyptians* their boast. 20.6 And the inhabitant of this coastland will say in that *time*, “*Is this what has become of our place of safety where we hoped to flee for help, to be rescued before the king of Assyria? Until daylight they have not rescued themselves*, and how shall we be rescued?”

CHAPTER 21

21.1 *The march of armies which are coming from the wilderness is like the waters of the sea which flow in whirlpools. They come in the way of the south, carried along and coming from the desert, from the land where hard things are made.* 21.2 *The prophet said, A stern prophecy is told to me; the robbers are robbed, and the plunderers are plundered. Go up, Elamites, strong men of the Medes; I sigh for all those who were sighing before the king of Babylon.* 21.3 *Therefore their loins are filled with shaking; fear has seized them, behold like pangs of a woman in travail; they have become dull so that they cannot hear, they have gone astray so that they cannot see.* 21.4 *Their heart has gone astray, distress and horrors have seized them; their place of safety has become to them fracture.* 21.5 *Prepare tables, set up watchmen, eat, drink. Arise, O princes, rub down and polish the weapons.* 21.6 *For thus said the LORD to me, “Go, set up a watchman, let him announce what he sees,* 21.7 *when he sees a man’s chariot and with it a pair of horsemen, a rider on an ass, a rider on camel,”—the prophet said, I listened diligently and saw and behold, many armies were coming.* 21.8 *The prophet said, “The sound of armies coming with their standard of a lion; upon the watch before the*

Notes

20:1–20:6 The fate of Egypt itself, along with Ethiopia, is here vividly conveyed in terms of “exile” (v. 4, and see the Apparatus).

21:1–21:17 The military operation described in v. 1 is quickly ascribed to “*the king of Babylon*” (v. 2): the period of the Amoraic interpreters seems here to be represented. The extent of Sassanid military power is again spoken of in v. 7, and the reference to a heraldic lion (v. 8, cf. the Apparatus) supports this identification. The keen expectation

LORD I stand continually by day, and at my post I am stationed all the night. 21.9 *And, behold, here comes a man's chariot and with it a pair of horsemen!"* And he answered and said, *"Fallen, and also about to fall, is Babylon; and all the images of her idols will be pulverized to the ground."* 21.10 *Kings who are skilled in waging war will come against her to plunder her even as the farmer who is skilled in threshing the grain.* The prophet said, What I have heard before the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, I announce to you. 21.11 An oracle of a cup of cursing to give Dumah to drink. He calls upon me from the heavens, *"Prophet, interpret for them the prophecy; prophet, interpret for them what is about to come."* 21.12 The prophet said, *"There is reward for the righteous and retribution for the wicked. If you are penitent, repent while you are able to repent."* 21.13 An oracle of a cup of cursing to give the Arabians to drink. In the forest in the evening the caravans of the sons of Dedan will lodge. 21.14 *Valleys, go forth with water to the thirsty; prepare from that which you are eating for the fugitives, O inhabitants of the land of the south.* 21.15 For they have fled before killing, before drawn sword and before bent bow and before the strength of war. 21.16 For thus said the LORD to me, *"At the end of the years, as the years of a hireling, all the glory of the Arabians will come to an end;* 21.17 *and the remnant of the warriors' strength, the mighty men of the Arabians, will be few; for by the Memra of the LORD, the God of Israel, it is so decreed."*

CHAPTER 22

22.1 The oracle of prophecy against the city which lies in the valley, against which the prophets prophesied. What do you mean that you have gone up, all of you, to the housetops, 22.2 with which the boastful city, the joyful town, is full? Your slain were

Apparatus

21:10 "before" is replaced by "the voice of the Memra of" in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles. If it were better attested, this variant would be accepted as quite a characteristic expression. As it stands, however, it should probably be viewed as a secondary reading in the style of the meturgeman which is designed to avoid any suggestion that Isaiah was immediately in God's presence.

21:13 "forest" and "evening" render both texts.

21:14 "valleys" (*gydwnyn*) is the translation suggested by Jastrow I, p. 235. Levy I, p. 126, and Dalman, p. 71, conjecture "waterskins", but as Stenning points out (p. 66), the acceptance of this view involves changing the form of the verb. Stenning himself emends the text to read "streams" (*ngdyn*). The latter word is indeed commonly found; but for precisely that reason it is difficult to see why no manuscript would preserve the allegedly original reading. Yet the sense of Stenning's rendering is supported by some manuscript evidence, although not in the wording he suggests: Reuchlinianus has "to the sea" instead of "with water", and Antwerp Polyglot has "of water". The *gydwnyn* are therefore susceptible of being understood as heading in a direction (cf. the present context) and as consisting of water (cf. the variants just cited). Jastrow himself explained the term was a wadi between steep embankments (cf. *gydwd*). The sense of the Tg seems to be that the full wadi is commanded to meet the thirsty.

21:17 "Arabians" is preceded by "sons of" in most tests. But this accommodation to the MT is resisted by the scribes of B.M. 2211 and the Antwerp Polyglot.

22:3 "archer" is the reading of all the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211, which has an oddly pointed "blow", owing to metathesis. In this case, Sperber (p. 42) rightly corrects the manuscript.

22:4 "weep in bitterness" renders "be bitter in weeping" in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 85).

22:6 "weapons" is actually in the singular, and the image which follows is also to be taken in a collective sense.

22:9 "my" is the reading of B.M. 2211 and Reuchlinianus; the other witnesses have "the".

22:12 "day" is replaced by "time" in B.M. 1474, which is the conventional usage in the Tg.

not slain with *the sword* nor even *did they die in war*. 22.3 All your rulers *were cast out* together, *before the archer* they *went into exile*. All who were found in you were *killed* together, though they fled far away. 22.4 Therefore I said: “Leave me, let me weep in bitterness; do not *be troubled* to comfort me for the *breaking* of the *congregation* of my people.” 22.5 For *there is* a day of tumult and trampling and *killing* before the LORD God of hosts in *the city which lies in the valley*, *against which the prophets prophesied*. *They are searching through houses, encircling the towers on the tops of the mountains*. 22.6 And *the Elamites* bore *weapons* in a man’s chariot, and *with it a pair of horsemen*, and *upon a wall they hung shields*. 22.7 And it came to pass that your choicest *plains* were filled with chariots, and horsemen *were stationed at gates*. 22.8 He has uncovered *the hiding place of the house of Judah*, and *he has looked in that time upon* a weapon of the *treasure* house of the *sanctuary*. 22.9 And you saw that the breach of the city of David *was great*, and you collected *my people* to the waters of the lower pool, 22.10 and you counted the houses of Jerusalem, and you broke down the houses to *strengthen* the wall. 22.11 You made *the reservoirs* between the walls for the water of the old pool. But you did not *consider* him who did it, or have regard for him who *created* it long ago. 22.12 And *the prophet of the LORD* God of hosts called on that day for weeping and mourning, and for *shearing of head* and girding with sackcloths; 22.13 and behold, joy and gladness; *they say*, “*Let us slay oxen and slaughter sheep, eat*

Notes

that this powerful régime is itself “*about to fall*” victim to “*kings who are skilled in waging war*” (vv. 9, 10) would appear to reflect an experience of persecution under the Sassanids, an experience which made the prospect of Babylon’s demise welcome (cf. Churgin [1927] 28-29; Chilton [1982] 5). Jewish experience under the Sassanids, however, was by no means consistently bad; persecution was especially a fourth century phenomenon, under Shapur II (cf. Neusner IV [1969] 32-33, and, for the later and more vicious persecution under Yazdagird II and Peroz, cf. V [1970] 60-69). Although we might plausibly relate the present interpretation to that period, it must be borne in mind that local frictions might have resulted in such expressions of joy at Babylon’s end during almost any period. (Indeed, van der Kooij [1981] 188, 189 argues that the reference is to Rome, cf. Aberbach [1974]. But innovative usages of “Babylon” elsewhere in the Tg [cf. 11:11; 13:22; 44:27] would seem to suggest the reference is geographical.) The particular reference to the king does not require that we restrict our attention to evidence of royally inspired persecution, since subjects might lay the responsibility for any ills on the king, as the ultimate authority. Against the background of the near dissolution of Babylon and her “*idols*” (v. 9), the meturgeman reminds his hearers of the coming judgment, and calls for repentance (v. 12). But he addresses this call to those who are already “*penitent*” (*tybyn*): the assumption is that some are prepared to listen (cf. 33:13; 57:19 and Chilton [1982] 43-44 and the distinctive meaning in 28:6; 60:8). The usual assumption in the Tg is that Israel refuses to repent (cf. Chilton [1982] 37-46), and to this extent there is linguistic and literary support for the point of view that the present chapter should be seen as distinctive within the Tg. The references to the Arabians in v. 13-17 suggest that they are possessed of some degree of military strength in the understanding of the meturgeman. This need not reflect the period of Islamic ascendancy, since (1) the Arabs proved troublesome for the Sassanids long before the defeat of 642 at Nehavend (cf. 60:7 in the Notes; Neusner [IV; 1969] 44f.; [V; 1970] 69, 114), and (2) there is no reference to the actual domination of the Arabs, only to their growing power (so Churgin [1927] 29, who puts the point rather too strongly). Further to the second observation, the similarity of v. 16 to the prediction against the Moabites in 16:14 might be mentioned: in both cases, local kingdoms, rather than global empires, are in view.

22:1-22:14 The focus now changes radically to the city “*against which the prophets prophesied*” (vv. 1, 5), Jerusalem (v. 10). Exile and death are to be its lot (v. 3), the outcome of an encircling siege and search (v. 5). “*The Elamites*” are named as the military agents of this destruction (v. 6), and the Romans are evidently in view. (Such may be the intended reference to the Elamites in Megillah 18a, although Neusner [II, 1966] 71 is quite uncertain. Normally, “Elam” referred to an area within Babylon among the Amoraim, cf. Neusner, pp. 241-243 and 21:2.) As Smolar and Aberbach (1983) 79 point out, the Romans placed their standards on Jerusalem’s towers after the city was captured (cf. v. 6 and *Bellum Judaicum* 6.8.5f 403). V. 8 appears to be a rather specific historical allusion: it was the victorious Pompey who in 63 B.C. entered the Temple treasury (cf. van der Kooij [1981]

flesh and drink wine. Let us eat and drink, *since we will die and not live.*" 22.14 *The prophet said, With my ears I was hearing when this was decreed before the LORD God of hosts: "Surely this sin will not be forgiven you until you die the second death,"* says the LORD God of hosts.

22.15 Thus says the LORD God of hosts, "*Come, go to this guardian, to Shebna, who is appointed over the house, and you will say to him:* 22.16 *What have you to do here and why do you act this way, that you have prepared a place for yourself here?" He has prepared his place on the height, sets his residence in the rock.* 22.17 *"Behold, the LORD casts you out, a mighty man is cast out, and shame will cover you.* 22.18 *He will take away from you the turban and encircle you with enemies as an encircling wall and he will exile you to a wide land; there you shall die, and there shall your glorious chariots return in shame, because you did not guard the glory of your master's house.* 22.19 *And I will thrust you from your place and throw you down from your ministry.* 22.20 *And it will come to pass in that time that I will exalt my servant Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah,* 22.21 *and I will clothe him with your robe, and gird him with your cincture, and place your authority in his hand; and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah.* 22.22 *And I will place the key of the sanctuary and the authority of the house of David in his hand; and he will open, and none shall shut; and he will shut, and none shall open.* 22.23 *And I will appoint him a faithful*

Apparatus

22:15 "*Come, go*": the order of the verbs is reversed in the MT, despite the impression given in the RSV. "*and you will say to him*" is added in Tg, and just happens to accord with the addition to the same effect in the RSV.

22:17 "*will cover*": the meaning of the MT is "covers" (from *'th*).

22:18 "*turban*" in Aramaic is that which is twirled around the head: the verbal stem involved is cognate with that of the MT.

22:21 "*cincture*" (*hmyn*) simply means "girdle", but refers especially to the ceremonial garment of an official (cf. Levy II, p. 201).

22:23 "*faithful*" (*mhymn*) derives from the Aramic equivalent of the root form of "sure" (*n'mn*) in the MT. "*officer*" (*'mrkl*) refers to a position of higher authority within the Temple (cf. Levy I, pp. 38, 39).

22:24 "*juniors*" might be taken as a straightforward translation of "small", which is substantive and singular in the MT. But *d'dqy*' is unique in the Tg, and it appears to be used here with comparative force (cf. Levy I, p. 183). "*harps*" is a rendering of the same term in the MT which is rendered "flagons" in the RSV.

22:25 "*faithful officer*": cf. v. 23 in the Apparatus.

23:1 "*no entry*" (*mlmyty*) renders *mbw'* in the MT as an infinitive, cf. "entrance" in Young II, p. 121, and "haven" in the RSV. "Kittim" is rendered "Cyprus" in the RSV, cf. Young II, p. 145. In Ms. Jews' College, the reference is instead to "Samaritans" (*kwt'y*).

23:3 "*in*" becomes "as" in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews' College. The point, however, is that Sidon actually makes its money in Egypt by trade. "she was" renders the MT (cf. Young II, p. 121). "business" (Aramaic *shwr*) renders *shr* in the MT almost exactly (and cf. Young's translation). The same word is used earlier in the verse to explicate "Shihor" (*shr*) in the MT.

officer ministering in an enduring place, and he will become a throne of glory to his father's house. 22.24 *And all the glorious ones of his father's house will rely on him, the sons and the sons' sons, from the princes to the juniors, from the priests wearing the ephod to the sons of the Levites holding the harps.* 22.25 *In that time, says the LORD of hosts, a faithful officer ministering in an enduring place will pass away; and he will be cut down and fall, and the oracle of prophecy that was concerning him will be void, for by the Memra of the LORD it is so decreed.*"

CHAPTER 23

23.1 An oracle of a cup of cursing to give Tyre to drink. Wail, those who go down in ships of the sea, for their harbours are plundered, so that there is no entry! From the land of the Kittim they come against them. 23.2 Be shattered, O inhabitants of the coast, O merchants of Sidon; those who passed over the sea have filled you, 23.3 who was supplying business for many peoples, whose revenue was in a harvest gathering of

Notes

166-167 and *Bellum Judaicum* 1.7.6 § 152-153). The hard saying about the second death (v. 14, cf. Revelation 2:11; 20:6, 14; 21:8) is directed precisely against those who in their laxity permitted such a thing to take place. (For other usages of the phrase, cf. Pauli [1871] 69 n. 3; Drazin [1982] 297.)

22:15-22:25 The prophetic attack on Shebna in vv. 15-19 is occasioned by his abuse of priestly office. The "sanctuary" has been at the centre of attention from v. 8, and "the turban" (v. 18) in the Tg is the emblem of priestly authority (cf. 28:1, 4). The exaltation of Eliakim (v. 20) is also in virtue of his priesthood: he dresses as a priest (v. 21), has the authority "of the sanctuary" (v. 22), and is surrounded by cultic inferiors (v. 24). Ultimately, of course, the meturgeman does not depict all power as concentrated in priestly hands; there is the Messiah to be reckoned with, as well, and elsewhere in Tg Jonathan the messianic and priestly figures are paired, but not confused (cf. Tg 1 Samuel 2:35; Tg Zechariah 6:13 and Chilton [1982] 23-24). Eliakim probably does point to such a fundamental hope in the mind of the meturgeman, but he would appear in v. 22 to picture the priest as exercising royal as well as cultic power. (Van der Kooij [1981] 161-164 argues on this basis that the meturgeman has in mind Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II; but this appears a more specific exegesis than the text can support.) But the situation is purely temporary, as v. 25 makes altogether plain. In fact, of course, priestly power was — at least temporarily — enhanced from the time of Herod until the destruction of the Temple. During that time, which might generally be called the Herodian settlement, the royal function was so thoroughly under Roman control that the priestly aristocracy acquired new national stature. Although the high priests were themselves ultimately little more than political appointees, their relative power, as compared to other Jews, was great, and they appeared authoritative. Only the events of 66-70 A.D. dislodged them. Possibly, the "prophecy" concerning Shebna and Eliakim alluded to Hasmonean rulers originally, since they combined in themselves royal and priestly power (cf. van der Kooij, and Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 64-67); the evident reference to Pompey lends some support to this point of view. But this tradition is presently incorporated within the Tannaitic framework of the Tg, which has a more global Roman military policy in mind (cf. chapter 23). Indeed, Smolar and Aberbach themselves admit that v. 3 (p. 81) and v. 6 (cf. above) allude to later experience under the Romans.

23:1-23:18 Those of Tyre, "who go down in ships of the sea" (cf. Psalm 107:23, and 2:16 in the Apparatus), are the next object of the curse formula (v. 1, cf. 13:1; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:11, 13). The military disaster is said to come from the Romans, who are referred to under the well known cipher of "Kittim" (vv. 1, 12). The noun actually refers to Cyprus, but in rabbinic literature it came to denote Rome's threat from the sea (cf. Stemberger [1983] 3, 4, 16f., 20f.). Rome is precisely "from the west the one who dwells in the stronghold," and his threat is all the more frightening

the river; and she was business to the peoples. 23.4 Be ashamed, O Sidonians, for from the west the one who dwells in the stronghold of the sea has spoken, saying: “If only I was not sick and did not remove, and had not reared young men, indulged virgins.” 23.5 When they heard of the stroke with which the Egyptians were smitten, the Tyreans quaked when they heard. 23.6 Go into exile to the province to the sea, wail, O inhabitants of the coast! 23.7 Is this your mighty one, Tyre, from days of old, from antiquity were they giving her gifts from a far land? Now, behold, she is exiled to sojourn. 23.8 Who has purposed this against Tyre, who was making kings reign, whose merchants were princes, her rulers the glorious ones of the earth? 23.9 The LORD of hosts has purposed it, to defile the glory of all her joy, to degrade all the glorious ones of the earth. 23.10 Go into exile from your land like the waters of the river; flee to the province of the sea, there is no longer a stronghold. 23.11 His might is raised up over the sea to shake the kingdoms; the LORD has given command concerning Canaan to destroy its strongholds. 23.12 And he said; “You will no longer be strong, you who were robbing the people who were in Zion; arise, go into exile to Kittim, even there you will have no rest.” 23.13 Behold the land of the Chaldeans! This is the people; when it was not, the Assyrian founded it for islands. They erected its fitments, they razed its palaces, they made it a ruin. 23.14 Wail, those who go down in ships of the sea, for the harbours of your stronghold have been plundered. 23.15 And it will come to pass in that time that Tyre will be rejected for seventy years, like the days of one king. At the end of seventy years, it will happen to Tyre as a harlot’s song: 23.16 “Your glory has been overthrown, cast out to a province, the city that was as a harlot is rejected! Turn your harp to lamentation and your music to keening, that you might be remembered.” 23.17 And it will come to pass at the end of seventy years that the remembrance of Tyre will come before the LORD and she will return to her place and supply business to all the kingdoms of the people which are on the face of the earth. 23.18 And her business

Apparatus

23:4 “west” involves taking the first reference to the sea in the MT as directional.

“remove” might also be rendered “become pregnant,” which would bring the Tg into line with the MT. But the personified speaker in the Tg is emphatically masculine, so that this alternative seems less appropriate than taking the statement metaphorically, as a reference to the burden of keeping hostages (cf. the Notes).

23:10 “stronghold” renders “girdle” (*mzh*) in the MT, but the translation may presuppose *m'wz* in the Hebrew text (cf. Stenning, p. xviii, and 17:9; 23:4, 11, 14; 30:2, 3). On the other hand, the MT makes excellent sense as it stands (cf. the RSV), and the Targumic style certainly runs to the repetition of characteristic words, particularly in discrete sections. The word is probably innovative.

23:12 “you”: this verse is cast in the plural masculine, rather than the feminine singular.

“Kittim”: cf. v. 1.

23:13 “islands” (*ngwwn*) quite often stands for ‘yym in the MT (cf. the Glossary, here: *syym*), but *nys* is used in v. 2 for the singular, when the meaning is “coast”. Effectively, “islands” may refer, as here, to military colonies.

“fitments”: “watchtowers” is suggested by Jastrow I, p. 442, and this is how Stenning, p. 72, translates *hzyth*. This involves deriving the term from *hzwt*, which is supported by variant readings in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews’ College. But the readings of B.M. 2211 and 1474 may be derived from *hz'* (cf. *hzyt*, Dalman, p. 142) and taken as a feminine formation, referring to “things fitting” (or “visible”). A similar analysis would obtain in the case of the instance at 41:21, which Stenning construes in an altogether different way (p. 138). The sense here is probably similar to “siege towers” in the MT.

23:16 “that you might be remembered” could more literally be rendered, “that your remembrance might come”.

24:2 “borrower...lender”: the words are equivalent in the two texts. Only the order is changed in the Tg.

24:7 “wither” (*tpryk*) is replaced by “show themselves false” (*tkdybw*) in Ms. Jews’ College. The reading should be regarded as an explanatory one, occasioned by a *hapax legomenon*. It also involves a sophisticated use of an unexplained metaphor (of disappointing vines equating to Israel) which relies on 5:2 for its sense. The interpretative style of the meturgeman is generally not quite so opaque.

and her *profit* will be holy *before* the LORD; it will not be stored or hoarded, but her *profit* will be for those who *minister* before the LORD, to eat to satiety and for clothing of glory.

CHAPTER 24

24.1 Behold, the LORD is *giving* the earth *for plunder* and *handing it over to the adversary*, and *shame will cover* the face of its *princes because they transgressed the law*, and he will scatter *those who inhabit* it. 24.2 And the *layman* shall be as the priest; the servant as his master; and maid as her mistress; the buyer as the seller; the *borrower* as the *lender*; the *debtor* as *one who credits him*. 24.3 The earth will be utterly *plundered* and utterly *trampled*; for the LORD has spoken this word. 24.4 The earth mourns, *is desolate*, the world *is devastated, desolate; the strength* of the people of the earth *comes to an end*. 24.5 And the earth *has sinned* under its inhabitants; for they have transgressed *the law, annulled the feasts, changed* the covenant which was from eternity. 24.6 Therefore *from oaths of deceit* the earth *is desolate* and *those who inhabit* it *are devastated*; therefore the inhabitants of the earth *come to an end*, and few men are left. 24.7 *All who drink wine mourn, for the vines wither*, all the merry-hearted sigh. 24.8 The mirth of timbrels is still, the tumult of the *strong* has ceased, the mirth of the lyre *stops*. 24.9 They will no more drink wine *to music; old wine* will be bitter to those who drink it. 24.10 *Their city is broken down, devastated, all the houses are shut up* so that none can enter. 24.11 *They cry out* for wine in the streets; all *the joy has finished*; gladness has gone into exile *from the earth*. 24.12 Desolation is left in the city, and *tumult in the collapse of gates*. 24.13 For thus shall *the righteous be left alone* in the midst of the *world among the kingdoms*, as the *stripping of the olive tree*, as gleanings

Notes

because he is tired of a policy of taking hostages (v. 4). The “*Egyptians*” have already succumbed, and now the “*Tyreans*” and all the inhabitants of the west can look forward only to “*exile to the province of the sea*” (vv. 5, 6, 7, 10, 16). (Notably, Roman military policy in response to Jewish revolts appears to have included deportation from coastal ports, cf. Stemberger [1983] 69, citing Lamentations Rabbah 1.48. The particular reference to horrific events in Egypt would seem better to correspond to a second century setting, cf. Smallwood [1976] 405-406.) The shift to the plural usage in v. 12 (cf. the Apparatus) appears to signal a change in focus, and the reference to “*robbing the people who were in Zion*” is reminiscent of the charge against Israel’s inadequate leaders in 3:14. In fact, the link between Tyre and the Jewish hierarchy is quite understandable: Tyrean currency was used in the Temple long after Tyre’s demise, and the practice is reflected in vv. 17, 18 (cf. Jeremias [1969] 36).

24:1-24:23 The desolation which is to come from God is particularly directed against “*princes because they transgressed the law*” (v. 1); in view of chapters 22 and 23, the Temple hierarchy is at issue. The specific charge in v. 5, that they have “*annulled the feasts*,” has the same group in view. (A charge involving reference to “*deceit*” [v. 6] is also levelled against community leaders in 5:23.) From v. 13, however, there is a radical shift in emphasis: all the ills that are to occur happen in order to leave “*the righteous*” alone. They will celebrate new “*prodigies*” of redemption which

after vintage. 24.14 They will lift up their voice, they will sing in *the name* of the LORD; they *will shout as they broke forth over the prodigies that were done for them at the sea*. 24.15 Therefore *when the light comes to the righteous they will give glory before* the LORD; in the coastlands of the sea *they will praise and bless* the name of the LORD, the God of Israel. 24.16 From the *sanctuary, whence joy is about to go forth to all the inhabitants* of the earth, we hear *a song for the righteous*. *The prophet said, "The mystery of the reward for the righteous is visible to me, the mystery of the retribution for the wicked is revealed to me! Woe to the robbers, who are robbed, and to the plunder of the plunderers, which now is plundered."* 24.17 Fear, pit and snare are upon you, O inhabitant of the earth! 24.18 And it will come to pass that he who *will flee before* fear will fall into *the midst of* the pit; and he who *will come up* from the midst of the pit shall be caught in the net. *For prodigies are done in the heavens*, and the foundations of the earth tremble. 24.19 The earth indeed *will tremble*, the earth indeed *will shake*, the earth indeed *will rock*. 24.20 The earth will indeed stagger like a

Apparatus

24:14 "broke forth" (*dyb^cw*) is the reading of B.M. 2211 and Ms. Jews' College. The other extant witnesses read "shouted" (*db^cw*).

24:15 "when the light comes" renders "in the lights" in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 170). The translators of the RSV take the phrase in reference to the place of dawning light, and paraphrase it (so BDB, p. 22).

24:16 "mystery" (*rz*) represents a play on the Hebrew phrase, "leanness to me" (*rzy-ly*; cf. Young II, p. 170). The term is replaced by "this" (*dy'n*) in Reuchlinianus. On its first occurrence it is omitted by Ms. Jews' College, and then replaced on its second occurrence. These alternative readings do not represent accommodation to the MT, but they are so unstable they should not be accepted as the interpretation of our meturgeman. They probably derive from another Targumic tradition.

"is plundered" appears as "are plundered" in Reuchlinianus, and the reading is accepted by Stenning (pp. 76, 77).

24:19 "tremble" picks up the usage from v. 18. The Aramaic verb (*zw'*) might better be rendered "quake" or "shake", but the present translation brings out the similarity to the RSV/MT.

"rock" is a reflexive form, as in the MT, and there is no appreciable change of meaning in the Tg (cf. Gesenius [1847] 504). In the Tg, the finite verb is preceded by a noun (*pyrwq*) rather than the infinitive; but the force of the construction is as in the MT, and avoids a long-winded, repetitive form.

24:20 "come and go" is actually in the reverse order; otherwise the English idiom renders the Aramaic usage well.

24:22 "they will be remembered" might more literally be rendered, "their remembrance will come" (cf. 23:16).

24:23 "ashamed" would be a suitable rendering of the second verb in the MT, and "humiliated" a characteristic rendering of the first (*hpr*, cf. 1:29).

"kingdom" is replaced by "might" in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and in the Antwerp Polyglot.

"in Jerusalem" is omitted in Ms. Jews' College.

25:2 "built" is the reading of both texts, and the syntax of the two is practically the same. There is, however, a notable oddity in each. The MT has "from" before *yr* ("city", the first and third usages in the RSV; Young's translation [II, p. 184] does justice to the preposition). B.M. 2211 uniquely reads "prophesied" (*ytnby*) instead of "built" (*ytbny*). Stenning, p. 79, and—more emphatically—Sperber, p. 47, rightly rejected the reading. It is clearly motivated by a desire to avoid the scandal that the Temple site was in fact dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus as a result of the revolt led by Bar Kokhba.

25:4 "against" is present in the Tg, and supplied by the translators of the RSV.

25:6 "strokes" (*mhn*) is distantly related to "full of marrow" (*mmhym*) in the MT, which the meturgeman has taken as derived from the Hebrew *mhh* in the sense, "strike".

25:7 "kingdom" is put in the plural in B.M. 1474, Ms. Jews' College and Bibliothèque Nationale 1325. The variant conforms to a Targumic usage (cf. van Zijl, p. 106), but also to the number of "nations" in the MT. The singular usage is quite sensible, however, since "kingdom" can refer to dominion in general.

drunken man, and *it will come and go* like a booth; its *sins will be strong* upon it, and it will *fall* and will not rise again. 24.21 And it will come to pass in that *time* that the LORD will visit the *forces of the stronghold, those who dwell in strength*, and the kings of the *sons of men who reside on* the earth. 24.22 And they shall gather *them* together in a *prison* and shut *them* in the *jail*, and after many days *they will be remembered*. 24.23 Then *those who serve* the moon will be *ashamed* and *those who worship* the sun will be *humiliated*; for the *kingdom of the LORD of hosts will be revealed on the Mount of Zion and in Jerusalem and before the elders of his people in glory*.

CHAPTER 25

25.1 O LORD, you are my God; I will exalt you, I will praise your name; for you have done wonders, counsels *which you promised to bring from of old you have now brought and established*. 25.2 For you have made *open cities heaps, a strong fortress a ruin; a temple of the Gentiles will never be built in the city of Jerusalem!* 25.3 Therefore strong people will glorify *before* you; cities of hard *peoples* will fear *before* you. 25.4 For you have been a *stronghold* to the poor, a *help* to the needy in *a time of distress, as those who hide from before* a storm, *as shade from heat*—for the *sayings of the wicked to the righteous are like a storm which beats against a wall*—25.5 like heat in a *thirsty land*. You *humble* the roaring of the *strong*; as shade of a *cool rock in a weary land*, so is the *rest of the spirit of the righteous when the wicked are humbled*. 25.6 On this mountain the LORD of hosts will make for all peoples a *feast and a festival; they think that it is of glory, but it will be to them for shame, strokes from which they will not be rescued, strokes by which they will come to an end*. 25.7 And the face of the *great one who is master over all the peoples, and the face of the king who rules over all the*

Notes

are as marvelous as the events surrounding the exodus (vv. 14, 16, 18, cf. 10:22, 26). The “*sanctuary*” is to be the locus of a new song of thanksgiving (cf. Exodus 15), which is sung in order to celebrate eschatological reward and punishment (v. 16). As in the case of Exodus 15:18 in Tg Onqelos, God’s intervention on behalf of his people is referred to as his “*kingdom*” (v. 23). This intervention is final both for the earth itself (vv. 19, 20), and particularly for the military (v. 21) and idolatrous (v. 23) occupants of the “*stronghold*” (v. 21). Although this allusion to military occupation is oblique, it is also quite deliberate, and perhaps refers to the Roman Antonia fortress in Jerusalem (cf. 25:12 and Schürer [I, 1973] 366f.) (There is also discussion in Schürer of the other garrisons in the area [p. 365], and of the garrison left behind after the siege, which had largely centred on the Antonia [pp. 367, 508].

25:1–25:12 The celebration of God’s eschatological redemption and judgment continues (v. 1) with reference to the destruction God will bring (v. 2a). In this connection, a daring promise is made, to the effect that a Gentile temple will never be built in Jerusalem (v. 2b). Such a vigorous assurance has a rather clear *terminus ad quem*, since in 136 A.D. Jerusalem was renamed Aelia Capitolina, and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was dedicated there (cf. Smallwood [1976] 459–464, 432–434; Schürer [I, 1973] 553, 554). (By the same token, Daniel 11:31 suggests that, before the first century, such confidence was not likely to have been expressed.) It is part of the national confidence that the LORD will make a festival of “*strokes*” on Mount Zion for all peoples, especially their chief “*master*” and “*king*,” the Roman Emperor (vv. 6, 7). Under the cipher of “*Moab*,” which could later be used in respect of

kingdom will be annihilated on this mountain. 25.8 *They will forget death forever, and the LORD God will wipe away the tears from all faces and the reproaches of his people. he will take away from all the earth; for by the Memra of the LORD it is so decreed.* 25.9 And he will say in that *time*, “Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, that he might save us; this is our LORD; we were waiting for his *Memra*; let us be glad and rejoice in his salvation.” 25.10 For the *might* of the LORD will be *revealed* on this mountain, and *the Moabites* will be trodden down in *their* place, as *the straw* is trodden down in the *mire*. 25.11 And he will spread *the stroke of his might* among *them* as the swimmer who spreads [his hands] to swim; and he will *humble his glory* with the *lattice* of his hands. 25.12 And a *fortress of a stronghold, the fortresses of the Gentiles*, he will bring down, lay low, and cast to the ground, even to the dust.

CHAPTER 26

26.1 In that *time they* will sing this song in the land of *the house of Judah*: “We have a strong city; salvation will be set on its walls, and *mercies*. 26.2 Open the gates, that the

Apparatus

25:11 “*lattice*” is offered as a translation here on the understanding that *šyw* derives from *šwt* (so Jastrow I, p. 127), and is used by the meturgeman because he followed a non-Masoretic pointing of *rbwt* (cf. BDB, p. 70). In offering this suggestion, I depart from Jastrow I, p. 128, because he requires an entirely conjectural emendation of the text, and from the improbable “wall” reading posited on somewhat different grounds by Levy I, pp. 70-71, and Dalman, pp. 43, 44, but both on the supposition of defective plurals. The only oddity involved in my suggestion is that—just as in v. 7—the meturgeman has employed a singular where a plural might have been expected. The present translation is supported by Jastrow I, p. 127, insofar as the derivation is concerned, but the connection to the Hebrew term “lattice” is a new suggestion. In any case, the agreement of Stenning, p. 78, with Levy and Dalman is here doubted. The image is that God’s out-stretched hands are as a powerful lattice formed by his fingers.

26:3 “*With a perfect heart*” in the Tg derives from the Hebrew text, “(With) a firm intention”. The phrase is paraphrased in the RSV (cf. Young II, p. 206).

“Perfect” (*šlym*) is an adjective related to “peace”, a nominal usage which follows.

“peace”: the substantive appears twice in both texts. “Perfect peace” in the RSV is a paraphrase.

26:4 “*by*”: the preposition represents *b* in both texts, which is not translated in the RSV.

26:10 “*are dealing treacherously*” (*hww šqryn*) renders *y^cbl* in the MT; *šqr* elsewhere in the Tg renders its cognate (63:8) or *bgd* (48:8).

26:11 “*it will not shine*” is a prediction of destruction, just as the verb “shine” can be used positively, of prosperity (see 60:1, 5).

26:12 “*has been made*” is written “you have made” in B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus, Ms. Jews’ College, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot. The variant brings the Tg into accord with the syntax of the MT. In either case, the sense of the Tg is that God has dealt sparingly with sin.

26:14 “*mighty ones*”: cf. 14:9, where *rp’ym* in the MT is also rendered by means of this term.

26:15 “*gather*” (*knš*) generally renders *sp* or *qbs* in the MT. It here renders *ysp*, and is a play on words (cf. *sp*).

“*send away*” renders the exact equivalent of the verb used in the MT; only context demands a change of meaning.

On the Hebrew verb *rhq*, cf. BDB, pp. 934, 935.

26:16 “*in a whisper*” (*bwhš*) is in an adverbial phrase which renders *lhš* in the MT (cf. Levy I, p. 287). The latter term is rendered “*prayer*” in the RSV, but the Tg is closer to its basic meaning (cf. Young II, p. 222).

26:17 “*in the time*” is innovative, despite the impression given in the RSV. The MT reads “*draws near to deliver*” (cf. Young II, p. 222). The use of the Hebrew verb *qrb* is approximated in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles by the use of *mt*.

26:18 “*rushed*” is altered to “*seized*” in Reuchlinianus and the Antwerp Polyglot. The alteration is recommended by van Zijl, p. 6 and Stenning, p. 83. But the weight of the testimony to the more difficult reading makes it clearly preferable.

26:19 “*their*”: the Hebrew text reads “*my body*” (cf. the RSV margin and Young II, p. 222).

“*your law*” becomes “*the law*” in Reuchlinianus and the Antwerp Polyglot.

“*might*” is in the plural, meaning “*prodigies*”, in B.M. 1474 and Ms. Jews’ College.

innocent people which kept the law with a perfect heart may enter in. 26.2 With a perfect heart they have kept peace, peace will be accomplished for them, for they trusted in your Memra. 26.4 Trust in the Memra of the LORD for ever, for then you will be saved by the Memra of the fearful one; the LORD is strong for ever. 26.5 For he has humbled the inhabitants of the height, the strong city. He will humble it, cast it to the ground, bring it to the dust. 26.6 Feet will trample it, the feet of the righteous, the steps of the poor, the needy of the people." 26.7 The ways of the righteous are level; indeed you will establish the deeds of the righteous' ways. 26.8 Indeed, for the way of your judgment, O LORD, we have waited; for your name and for your remembrance our soul yearns. 26.9 My soul yearns to pray before you in the night, my spirit also in my bowels blesses you. For when your judgments are established in the earth, the residents in the world will learn to do the truth. 26.10 You gave the wicked respite, that if they returned to your law—and they did not repent all the days they were alive—they would do truth on the earth; they are dealing treacherously, they also do not look on the praise of your glory, LORD. 26.11 O LORD, when you will be revealed in your might to do good to those who fear you, it will not shine for the adversaries of your people; the wicked will see and be ashamed. The retribution of the people will cover them, indeed fire will destroy your enemies. 26.12 O LORD, you will establish peace for us, for in every time a concession for our sins has been made for us. 26.13 O LORD our God, the Gentiles have ruled over us, to become lords over us besides you, but we trust in your Memra, we praise your name. 26.14 They serve the dead who will not live, their mighty ones who will not rise; therefore when you visit their sins upon them and destroy them, you will wipe out all remembrance of them. 26.15 You were revealed to gather the dispersed of your people, O LORD, you are also about to bring near their exiles, to be revealed in your might, to send away all the wicked to Gehenna. 26.16 O LORD, in distress they were remembering your fear, in their distress they were teaching the teaching of your law in a whisper. 26.17 Like a pregnant woman who in the time of her delivery writhes and cries out in her pangs, so were we because we are sinners before you, O LORD; 26.18 distress has rushed upon us as a pregnant woman whose time to deliver speeds as the wind. Those who reside in the world have not brought deliverance to the earth, they also have not done wonders, neither will they be able to do so. 26.19 You are he who brings alive the dead, you raise the bones of their bodies.

Notes

Babylon among the Amoraim (cf. Neusner [III, 1968] 219, citing Shabbath 145b-146a), the end of the Roman military presence (cf. 24:21) is predicted (v. 12, cf. 24:21).

26:1-26:21 The song of eschatological triumph acknowledges the divine "mercies" on which vindication is based (v. 1), and rejoices in the obedience and trust of the "innocent people" (vv. 2-4). The defeat of the wicked is celebrated, in that it means the ways of the righteous and God's own judgments are established: as a result "the world will learn to do the truth" (vv. 5-9, for the last phrase, cf. 1:21 in the Notes). Vv. 10, 11 establish the justice of God's rough handling of the wicked: they failed to avail themselves of the possibility of repentance (v. 10a, cf. 42:14a). On the other hand, v. 12 suggests that Israel's obedience, although it may be some obeyed with a "perfect heart" (vv. 2, 3), is not complete. God has reduced the "sins" in Israel's account, while punishing "the Gentiles" according to the measure of "their sins" (vv. 12-14). As presented here, Israel's peace lies in their trust in the Memra, not in any claim to complete adherence to the law. (In fact, active resort is made to the law precisely out of an awareness of sin [vv. 16-18].) This is the basis on which God is "about to bring near their exiles" and deliver "the wicked to Gehenna" (v. 15). A similar, double-edged judgment is expressed in v. 19, this time with the explicit

All who were thrown in the dust will live and sing before you! For your dew is a dew of light for those who perform your law, and the wicked to whom you have given might, and they transgressed against your Memra, you will hand over to Gehenna. 26.20 *Go, my people, make for yourself good deeds which will protect you in a time of distress; hide yourself a little moment until the curse is past.* 26.21 *For behold, the LORD is revealed from the place of his Shekhinah to visit the sin of the inhabitant of the earth upon him, and the earth will disclose the innocent blood which is shed on her and will no longer cover her slain.*

CHAPTER 27

27.1 *In that time the LORD with his great and strong and hard sword will punish the king who exalts himself like Pharaoh the first king, and the king who prides himself like Sennacherib the second king, and he will slay the king who is strong as the dragon that is in the sea.* 27.2 *In that time, “The congregation of Israel which is like a choice vineyard in a good land, sing of it!* 27.3 *I, the LORD, keep for them the covenant of their fathers, and I will not destroy them, except that in the moment that they incite to anger before me, I make them drink the cup of their retribution. But though their sins already demand that retribution be taken from them, night and day my Memra protects them.* 27.4 *Behold, there are many prodigies before me! If the house of Israel set their face to do the law, would I not send my anger and my wrath among the Gentiles who are stirred up against them and destroy them as the fire destroys briars and thorn together?* 27.5 *Or if they laid hold of the words of my law, peace would be made with them, from then on peace would be made with them.”* 27.6 *They shall be gathered from among their exiles and they shall return to their land, there those of the house of Jacob will receive (children), those of the house of Israel will grow and increase, and sons’*

Apparatus

26:20 “protect”: cf. 4:5, 6 (where the verb is rendered “shelter”) and 1:6. The Hebrew *sgr*, however, is also rendered with *gnn* at 24:22. *gnn* at 24:22.

26:21 “to visit . . . upon him” renders both texts (cf. Young II, p. 229).

“which is shed on” is supplied in the Tg, and also—practically word for word—in the RSV.

27:4 “*Behold*” (*h*) may be considered a distant word play on “wrath” (*hmh*) in the MT.

27:7 “*they*”: by a slight change, the obscure question of the Hebrew text acquires rhetorical force in the Tg. The point is that Israel’s enemies have acted quite disproportionately to anything he actually did.

27:8 “measure” is, in both texts, a “seah”, a unit of grain.

“mutter(ing)” is actually the first meaning of the Hebrew verb used (*hgh*, cf. BDB, pp. 211, 212; RSV: “remove”).

“as” is the reading of B.M. 2211 against the other extant witnesses, which have “in”, the reading of the MT.

27:9 “the full *effectuation*” might more literally be rendered, “all the deeds”.

27:11 “will be shortened” (*ytqsr*) is something of a pun on “bough” (*qgyr*) in the MT.

27:12 “the rock” renders “the stream” (*šb/l*) in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 987), which is not represented in the RSV.

“Euphrates” is the reading of the Tg, and the implicit meaning of the MT. The term is supplied in the RSV.

sons will fill the face of the world. 27.7 Have they smitten him as the stroke he was smiting, or is he killed as the slaughter of those slain by him? 27.8 With the measure you were measuring with they will measure to you, because you were sending away and distressing them, muttering against them in speech, becoming strong against them as a day of cursing. 27.9 Therefore by this the sins of the house of Jacob will be forgiven, and this will be the full effectuation of the removal of his sins: when he makes all the stones of the altar like chalkstones crushed to pieces, no Asherim or sun pillars will be established. 27.10 For the city which was fortified will dwell alone, it will be cast out and forsaken, like the wilderness; with it the righteous will battle and plunder its possessions, and its armies will cease to go forth. 27.11 Their force will be shortened, they will be ashamed of their deeds, they will be broken; women come to their temple and teach them. For they are not discerning people; therefore he who made them will not have compassion on them, and he who formed them will not pity them. 27.12 And it will come to pass in that time that the slain will be cast before the LORD from the rock of the river *Euphrates* to the brook of Egypt, and you will be brought near one by one, O house of Israel. 27.13 And it will come to pass in that time that the great trumpet will be blown, and those who were exiled in the land of Assyria and those who were cast out to the land of Egypt will come and worship before the LORD on the holy mountain in Jerusalem.

Notes

promise of resurrection. (This verse was associated with the resurrection by the rabbis from the end of the first century, cf. *Sanhedrin* 90b and Chilton [1982] 15, 16.) In the face of imminent judgment, "good deeds" alone offer some protection (v. 20, cf. Romans 2:7; 1 Peter 4:19). The reference to the "Shekhinah" in v. 21 is hardly surprising; the Temple has been at issue from chapter 22, and now it is presented as the locus of judgment (cf. 24:16).

27:1-27:13 The punishment of Leviathan in the MT occasions a Targumic reference to Roman power at sea, and a comparison between the Emporor and two earlier enemies, Pharaoh and Sennacherib (v. 1). The obvious point is that Rome is to prove as weak before God as the Egyptians and Assyrians. Meanwhile, by a now familiar application of "vineyard" imagery (cf. 5:1, 2 above all), the special promise and forbearance towards Israel are spelled out (vv. 2, 3). But the promise is also expressed much more positively in terms of "peace" (v. 5), a return from exile and fruitfulness (v. 6). Vv. 7, 8 (see the Apparatus) return to the issue of Israel's enemy, and v. 8b, c seems to be a particularly indignant reference to occupation. (In v. 8a, a proverbial threat is applied to the enemy, which is also reflected in Matthew 7:2; Mark 4:24 and several rabbinic texts, cf. Chilton [1984] 123-124.) The complete, military (v. 10) and religious (v. 11) domination of the enemy by those who return from exile is the final image of his chapter (vv. 9-13).

CHAPTER 28

28.1 *Woe to him who gives the crown to the proud, the foolish master of Israel, and gives the turban to the wicked one of the sanctuary* of his praise, which is on the head of the rich valley of those *wounded* with wine! 28.2 *Behold, strong and hard strokes come from the LORD; like a storm of hail in a whirlwind, like a storm of strong, overflowing waters, so the Gentiles will come upon them and exile them from their land to another land with the sins which are in their hands.* 28.3 *The crown of the proud, the foolish master in Israel will be trodden under foot; 28.4 and he who gives the turban to the wicked one of the sanctuary* of his praise, which is on the head of the rich valley, will be like a first-ripe fig before the summer: when a man sees it, he eats it up as soon as it is in his hand.

28.5 *In that time the Messiah of the LORD of hosts will be a diadem of joy and a crown of praise, to the remnant of his people; 28.6 and a command of true judgment to those who sit in the house of judgment, to judge true judgment and to give the victory to those who go forth in the battle, to return them in peace to their houses.* 28.7 *These also are drunk with wine and annihilated with old wine: priest and scribe*

Apparatus

28:1 “proud” appears in the plural in B.M. 2211 and Ms. Jews’ College, but in the singular in B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot. While the plural variant is possible here, the singular “crown” makes it unlikely, and it may represent accommodation to the form of “drunkards” in the MT, and/or an attempt to coordinate the usage with the last phrase in the verse (cf. v. 6 also). Stenning, p. 87, prefers the singular here and in v. 4. Rather oddly, van Zijl, p. 37, accepts the emendation here and prefers the plural in v. 3, where it is even more difficult from the point of view of grammar. Van der Kooij [1981] 168 accepts the plural as the *lectio difficilior*. But he then interprets the text as if “leader” were plural, which it is not (cf. also p. 169). He believes the Tg refers to Herod the Great dividing his kingdom. There is simply no evidence to support the contention that the text has such an exact reference. Even an acceptance of the plural reading would see woe pronounced on him who gives the crown to proud people, including the leader of Israel and the wicked priest. That is a less precise statement than the hypothesis of van der Kooij would require.

“wicked one” is the reading of B.M. 2211 and Reuchlinianus, while the other extant witnesses use the plural form (cf. also v. 4). The plural may attest the attempt noted above to coordinate the adjective with the last participle in the clause. The usage of the plural of “wicked” is in any case so common in the Tg that the singular reading is not likely the result of an oversight (*pace* van der Kooij [1981] 169).

28:3 “proud”: cf. v. 1 above. At this point, the plural reading seems rather more unlikely. If the variant is accepted, the sense is, “the proud ones of the foolish master”.

“*in Israel*” is uniquely the reading of B.M. 2211. The other extant witnesses have “*of Ephraim*”.

28:4 “*wicked one*”: cf. v. 1 above.

28:6 “*sit*” appears as “*return*” in B.M. 2211. It is a slight spelling mistake, perhaps under the influence of the end of the verse. V. 7 shows the scribe was not at his best in this section.

28:7 “*priest... annihilated*” is omitted from B.M. 2211. Stenning, p. 87, suggests homoioteleuton as the cause of the omission, but it may also be that the scribe found this criticism of Israel’s leaders rather too sharp. The charge of drunkenness is even more severe than it is in the MT (cf. the omission of a later phrase in Ms. Jews’ College).

“*her judges*” (*dyynh*) is inspired from *plylyh* in the MT. The latter term is translated “*in giving judgment*” in the RSV; the meturgeman, however, took the final *h* as pronominal.

28:10 “*if they repented...*” is supplemented in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles with “*it would be forgiven them*”. The other witnesses omit the words, although the implied sense of the clause is the same. Stenning, p. 87, supports Lagarde’s acceptance of the reading. Although it is quite a sensible reading, it is probably secondary: within the Tg, the consequences of repentance are so well known they need not be spelled out.

are drunk from old wine. They are *annihilated* from wine, they stagger from *old wine*; *her judges have turned after sweet food*, they *have gone astray*. 28.8 For all their tables are full of *defiled and abominated food*, no place of theirs is *innocent of oppression*. 28.9 “To whom was the law given, and who was commanded to apprehend wisdom? Was it not the house of Israel who were beloved more than all the peoples, and cherished more than all the kingdoms? 28.10 They were commanded to perform the law, and what they were commanded they did not wish to do. The prophets prophesied concerning them, that if they repented... and they did not listen to the sayings of the prophets; they went in their own pleasure and did not desire to perform my pleasure; they hoped that the service of idols would be established for them, and they did not hope for the service of my sanctuary. My sanctuary was as little in their eyes, to serve there; my *Shekhinah* was as little in their eyes there.” 28.11 For with odd speech and mocking tongue this people were scoffing at the prophets who prophesied to them; 28.12 to whom the prophets were saying, “This is the *sanctuary*, serve in it; and this is the *heritage of the house of rest*;” yet they would not listen to teaching. 28.13 And this will be the *cup of their retribution*, because they transgressed the word of the LORD, even because they were commanded to perform the law and what they were commanded they did not wish to do; therefore they will be handed over to the Gentiles, who do not know the law. And because they went in their own pleasure and did not desire to perform my pleasure, therefore they will hope for help in the time when I bring distress upon them, and there will be neither help nor support for them. And because my *sanctuary* was little in their eyes, to serve there, therefore they will be left as little among the Gentiles where they will be exiled; that they may go, and stumble backward, and be broken, and *caught* and taken. 28.14 Therefore *listen to* the word of the LORD, you wicked men, rulers of this people in Jerusalem! 28.15 Because you have said, “We have cut a covenant with death, and with the *destroyer* we have made *peace*,” the *stroke of the adversary will come upon you as a swelling river*. Because you say, “It will not come upon us; for we have based our *safety* on a lie, and hidden ourselves in

Notes

28:1-28:4 This chapter directs its woe against both the Roman authority and the royal and priestly figures who rely on Rome for their power (v. 1). (Notably, the secular ruler is not called a king, which tells against the specific identification with Herod by van der Kooij [1981] 168. More probably, the settlement right up to the formal outbreak of the revolt in A.D. 66 is in view, with Rome appointing Herodian or prefectorial rulers, and high priests courting the power of the day.) Judgment is first of all directed against those in Israel; it appears in the familiar shape of exile from their land (v. 2, cf. also v. 13). But the “foolish master” is also to have his power smashed, and he may be associated with him “*who gives the turban to the wicked one of the sanctuary*” (vv. 3, 4). (The language is reminiscent of “the wicked priest” who was the object of Essene scorn; this figure is also not susceptible of precise historical identification, cf. Brownlee [1982] 3-9.) In the end, however, it is Rome that stands behind the high priest (cf. v. 1), so that v. 4 should be seen as directed against the ultimate, not only the proximate, seat of power. (Such a connection between a ruined fig and the fate of Temple authorities might lie behind Mark 11:12-23.) Smolar and Aberbach (1983) 69-71 agree with this interpretation, and identify the “foolish master” with Agrippa II. Their argument is plausible, but the fact that the leader is not called a king (cf. above, in respect of van der Kooij) perhaps tells against it.

28:5-28:29 The end of Roman power heralds the “*true judgment*”, “*victory*” and “*peace*” of messianic power (vv. 5, 6), which is totally different from the polluted régime of priest and scribe (vv. 7, 8). Fundamentally, however, the failure in respect of the Temple reflects Israel’s failure to meet its vocation (vv. 9-12). The result of this failure is “*the cup of their retribution*”: exile (v. 13). (The phrase “*cup of cursing*”, used in respect of the Gentiles [cf. van Zijl (1979) 89], refers to a final punishment, while Israel’s is only temporary.) The “*strong, mighty and terrible king*”

a cover of falsehoods;" 28.16 therefore thus says the LORD God, "Behold I am appointing in Zion a *king*, a *strong, mighty and terrible king*. *I will strengthen him and harden him*," says the prophet, "*and the righteous who believe in these things will not be shaken when distress comes*. 28.17 And I will make judgment *straight as a building line* and righteousness *as a plummet stone*; and *my anger will burn up your safety of lies*, and *because you hid yourselves from the one who distresses, Gentiles will exile you*." 28.18 And your covenant *which is with death will be void* and your *peace which is with the destroyer will not be established*; when *the stroke of the adversary will come upon you as swelling river*, you will be beaten down by it. 28.19 *In the moment* he passes through he will *exile* you, for morning by morning he will pass through, by day and by night; and it will happen, *before the moment of the curse comes, that you will consider the sayings of the prophets*. 28.20 For *their force will be shortened by strong slavery and a distressing ruler will increase mastery*. 28.21 For as the mountains *shook when the glory of the LORD was revealed in the days of Uzziah the king, and as the wonders which he did for Joshua on the plain of Gibeon, to take retribution from the wicked who transgressed his Memra, so will he be revealed to take retribution from those who do deeds, strange are their deeds, and from those who serve a service, their service of idols*. 28.22 And now do not be wicked, lest your bonds be made strong; for I have heard of *extirpation and destruction before the LORD God of hosts upon all the inhabitants of the earth*. 28.23 *The prophet said, Give ear and hear my voice; turn, and attend to my Memra*. 28.24 *The prophets prophesy in every time to teach—what if the ears of the sinners were opened and they listened to teaching?* 28.25 *If the house of Israel set their face to perform the law, would he not repent and gather them from among the Gentiles among whom they are scattered, behold, as dill and cummin which is strewn? And he will bring them near by families to their tribes, behold, as seeds of wheat in rows and barley in proper places and spelt on the borders.* 28.26 *Behold all these things are for them a teaching of judgment, that they might know that God tells them the correct way, in which they should go.* 28.27 For they do not thresh dill with threshing sledges of iron, nor do they turn the wheels of a cart upon cummin; for they beat dill with the

Apparatus

28:17 "hid yourselves" represents "hiding place" in the MT (RSV: "shelter").

28:20 "distressing" (*m^{ay}q*) is derived from *srh* in the MT, and is associated with *srr* (cf. BDB, p. 864), a regular equivalent of *wq* in the Tg.

28:25 "set...face" represents the same phrase translated "levelled....surface" in the RSV.

28:28 "separates" (*mpryš*) is derived from "his horses" (*pršyw*) in the MT, by means of a play on words.
"dust" (*dwq'*, cf. 40:15) is developed from "crush" (*vdqnw*) in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 200).

29:3 "siege": cf. Jastrow I, p. 669. The deviation from the MT is not great (cf. BDB, p. 663).

29:5 "dispersed": Stenning, p. 92, quite understandably construes the participle as active, but cf. 11:12; 26:15; 56:8 and Dalman (1960) 286.

29:6 "commanded" is a translation of the analogous Hebrew term (*pqd*), which is reproduced in the Tg; but new meaning is developed by virtue of the regular use of this verb (also *pqd*) in the Tg.

29:9 "Delay" and "be astounded" are the readings of both texts (cf. BDB, pp. 554, 1069 and Young II, p. 314).
"They are drunk" and "they stagger" also render both texts (cf. Young).

stick, and cummin with the rod. 28.28 *They indeed thresh grain, but they do not thresh it forever; and he stirs with the wheels of his cart and separates the grain and lets the dust fly.* 28.29 This also comes from the LORD of hosts, who prepared the world with the thoughts of his great knowledge, increased the deeds of creation with the abundance of his wisdom.

CHAPTER 29

29.1 *Woe to the altar, the altar which they built in the city where David settled, from the gathering of armies which are gathered against it in the year the feasts cease in you.* 29.2 Yet I will distress the city where the altar is, and it will be desolate and evacuated, and it will be encircled before me with the blood of the slain as the encircling of the altar with the blood of holy sacrifices all around on the feast day. 29.3 And I will make armies settle against you, and build a siege against you and pile a rampart against you. 29.4 And you will be humbled, from the earth you will speak and from the dust your utterances will whine, and your voice will be like a ghost from the ground, and from the dust your utterances will whine. 29.5 But the multitude of your dispersed shall be like small dust, and a tumult of strong ones like chaff which passes, and there will be a tumult suddenly. 29.6 It will be commanded before the LORD of hosts with thunder and with earthquake and much noise, with whirlwind and with wind and flames of destroying fire. 29.7 And the multitude of all the peoples that gather against the city where the altar is, and all their forces and their armies and those who distress them, shall be like a dream, a fantasy of night. 29.8 As when the hungry man dreams he is eating and awakes, and his hunger is not satisfied, or as when the thirsty man dreams he is drinking and awakes, and he is faint and his soul is faint, so shall the multitude of all the peoples be that gather against the Mount of Zion. 29.9 Delay, be astounded, be confused and appalled! They are drunk, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with

Notes

through whom the exile comes is, no doubt, the Roman Emperor, perhaps Vespasian in particular (vv. 16-19), and the point is that the Roman victory punishes Israel's cultic laxity (cf. Mekhilta Bahodesh 1 and Stemberger [1983] 107-108). A weakened Israel will be all the easier to master (v. 20), and will make God's retribution all the swifter (v. 21). The surety of this judgment is such that the law alone is Israel's option for return to the land. By prophecy (vv. 23-26) and natural example (vv. 27-29), this is the message God seeks to deliver.

29:1-29:14 The final drive against "the altar" is associated with the cessation of festal sacrifice (v. 1), and the victims of the siege (cf. v. 3) take the place of "the blood of holy sacrifices" (v. 2). Two features are particularly reminiscent of the events of A.D. 70. First, the success of the siege is also related to the cessation of sacrifice by Josephus (cf. *Bellum Judaicum* 6.2.1. § 94 and, in respect of v. 3, 5.1.3 § 17, and Schürer [I, 1973] 505). More particularly, Josephus also speaks in *Bellum Judaicum* 5.1.3 § 16-18 of victims of the internecine conflict having their blood sprinkled on the altar (cf. v. 3 and Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 75, 76). Second, although the fire was started in the Temple (cf. v. 6), the Temple itself may not have been entirely destroyed; rather, the city absorbed the brunt of the attack (cf. v. 7). (According to Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 6.4.3 § 241-242, Titus decided to spare the Temple, and it was fired despite his orders to put the conflagration out, cf. Schürer [I, 1973] 506; but the city was

old wine! 29.10 For the LORD *cast among* you a spirit of *deception*, and has *hidden himself from* you, the prophets, *the scribes and the teachers who were teaching you the teaching of the law he has hidden*. 29.11 And all *prophecy* has become to you like the words of a book that is sealed. When men give it to one who knows the book, saying, “Read this,” he *will* say, “I cannot, for it is sealed.” 29.12 And the book *will* be given to one who does not know the book, saying, “Read this,” and he *will* say, “I do not know the book.” 29.13 And the *LORD* said: “Because this people *exalts itself* with *their* mouth and honour *before* me with their lips, while *their* heart is far from *my fear*, and their fear *before* me is *as* a commandment of men *who teach*; 29.14 therefore, behold, I will again *strike* this people with *comprehensive strokes*; and the wisdom *from their* wise men shall perish, and the discernment *from their understanding* shall be hid.”

29.15 Woe to those who *try* to hide counsel *before* the LORD, and their deeds are *as in the dark*, and who say, “*No one sees us, and no one knows our deeds.*” 29.16 *Are you seeking to turn your deeds upside down? Behold, as the clay in the potter's hand, so are you regarded before me! Is it possible that the clay should say to its maker, “You did not make me;*” or the *creature* say to its *creator*, “*You have no understanding of me?*” 29.17 Is it not yet a very little while until Lebanon shall return *to be as* a fruitful field, and the fruitful field will cause *many cities to be inhabited?* 29.18 And in that *time* *those who are as* deaf shall hear the *sayings* of a book, and out of gloom and darkness the eyes of the blind shall see. 29.19 And *those who have accepted mortification* will obtain fresh joy in the *Memra of the LORD*, and the needy *sons of men* shall exult in the *Memra of the Holy One of Israel*. 29.20 For the *one who distresses ceases and the plunderer is destroyed*, and all who watch *to rob cease*, 29.21 who by *their sayings* make the *sons of men sinners* and seek the *stumbling* of him who reproves *them* in the *judgment house with words of the law*, and with *deceit* turn aside the *judgment of the innocent*. 29.22 Therefore thus says the *LORD*, who redeemed Abraham, concerning

Apparatus

29:10 “*hidden himself*” is made causative rather than reflexive in B.M. 1474 and Bibliothèque Nationale 1325. This reading is preferred by Stenning, p. 92, who accordingly construes the syntax differently. In the present translation, the variant reading is rejected as a weakly attested and perhaps secondary attempt to avoid anthropomorphism (cf. Genesis 3:8 in Onqelos, cited by Levy I, p. 308).

29:13 “*exalts itself*”: Stenning’s emendation (p. 95), which brings the Tg into line with the MT and the RSV, is entirely conjectural.

29:14 “*understanding*”, the same word as is rendered “*discernment*”, is the reading of all texts but B.M. 1474 and the Antwerp Polyglot. Stenning, p. 95, agrees with the latter two witnesses, but their harmonization with the MT is evident.

29:16 “*to turn... upside down*”: the term in the MT is actually a noun, with “*your*” appended (cf. BDB, p. 246).

29:17 “*cause many cities to be inhabited*” refers to the population the fruitful field will be able to support.

29:23 “*the prodigies which is done*” is so odd that Stenning, p. 94, follows B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot in reading “*I shall do*”, which avoids the grammatical error. The use of the similar phrase in 10:26, however, suggests that B.M. 2211 is more accurate here, despite being less grammatical.

30:2 “*strength*” elsewhere renders *m^hwz* (cf. 23:4; 25:4), and may here mean “*stronghold*”, cf. 24:21 and “*protection*” in the RSV.

30:3 “*strength*”: cf. above.

30:6 “*the south*” is simply an alternative rendering to “*the Negeb*” in the RSV.

“*wounding*”: cf. 14:29.

30:7 “*help*”: despite the impression given in the RSV, the Hebrew form used is verbal.

30:10 “*sweet things*”: cf. 5:20; 28:7.

“*alterations*”: cf. *šwny* in Syriac (Payne Smith, p. 566). On the basis of this observation, it seems unnecessary to emend the text of the Tg in order to translate it (cf. Stenning, p. 96).

the house of Jacob: “*From now on those of the house of Jacob shall not be ashamed, and from now on their face shall not be changed.* 29.23 For when he sees *the prodigies which is done for his sons, the benefits of Abraham for his seed after him upon their land*, in *their midst*, they will sanctify *my name* and say, The Holy One of Jacob is *holy*, and *will say concerning* the God of Israel, *He is strong.* 29.24 And those who *have not learned* a spirit of understanding will know, and those who *say*, *All these things are not, will listen to teaching.*”

CHAPTER 30

30.1 “Woe to *the rebellious sons*,” says the LORD, “*who make a plan, but not of my Memra; and who take counsel, but do not ask of my prophets*, that they may add *sins to the sins of their soul*; 30.2 *who set out to go down to Egypt, without asking of the words of my prophets, to strengthen themselves with the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt!* 30.3 *And the strength of Pharaoh shall turn to your shame, and trust in the shadow of Egypt to humiliation.* 30.4 *For though his princes are in Zoan and his messengers reach Hanes, 30.5 all of them go to be ashamed, to the people who will not profit them, that brings neither help nor profit, but shame and disgraces.*” 30.6 *They bear upon their beasts in the way of the south through a land of trouble and anguish, a place of the lion, of a son of lions, and of poisonous, wounding serpents, they carry their possessions on the backs of asses, and bring what is in their treasures on the humps of camels, to a people that cannot profit them.* 30.7 *For the Egyptians are nothing and their help is emptiness, therefore I have summoned from them the slain; I will bring the appointed ones upon them.* 30.8 *Now, go, write in their midst on a tablet, and in lines of a book inscribe, that it may be for a day of judgment as a witness before me for ever.* 30.9 *For they are a disobedient people, lying sons, sons who will not listen to teaching of the law from the LORD; 30.10 who say to the prophets, “Do not prophesy;” and to the teachers, “Do not teach us the law; speak with us sweet things, recount to us alterations, 30.11 turn us aside from the correct way, make us cease from the tradition, remove from before us the Memra of the Holy One*

Notes

systematically destroyed, cf. *Bellum Judaicum* 6.6.3§ 353-355.) Blame for the disaster is not laid on “the prophets, the scribes and the teachers” (v. 10, cf. 28:7); the point is that God has removed them (cf. 3:1-3; 9:14-16).

29:15-29:24 At last, a word of promise is spoken, albeit one which is not easily understood by those who seek to evade the divine purpose (vv. 15, 16). The restoration of “Lebanon” (v. 17) is probably taken to refer to the Temple, since Johanan ben Zakkai, a prominent rabbi of the first century, attests such an understanding of the term (cf. Stemberger [1983] 67, 68 and, more particularly, Vermes [1961] 26-39). In any case, v. 20 certainly predicts an end of Roman military occupation, and of the tyranny of local rulers (v. 21, cf. 3:14, 15). The foundational promise to “Abraham” (cf. Genesis 15) is to mean fresh “benefits” and new obedience (vv. 23, 24).

30:1—30:17 Almost by way of resumé, woe is pronounced against Israel’s apostasy, especially in respect of the “prophets” and prophetic “tradition” (vv. 1, 3, 10, 11). In terms of what has preceded (cf. 29:1, 2), the threat of

of Israel." 30.12 Therefore thus says the Holy One of Israel, "Because you despise this word, and trust in *deceit* and *oppression* and rely on them; 30.13 therefore this *sin* shall be to you like a *fortress that is desolate and ruined, like a reinforced wall* whose crash comes down suddenly, in an instant; 30.14 and its breaking is like that of *pottery* which is smashed so ruthlessly that among its fragments not a sherd is found to *rake* fire from a hearth, or to dip up water from a *brook*." 30.15 For thus said the LORD God, the Holy One of Israel, "*I thought, You will return to my law, rest, be saved, be quiet, lie in safety, be mighty.*" And you would not, 30.16 but you said, "No! We will flee upon horses," therefore you shall flee; and, "We will ride upon swift steeds," therefore your pursuers shall be swift. 30.17 A thousand at the threat of one, at the threat of five you shall flee, until you are left like a *bonfire* on the mountain top, like a signal on a hill.

30.18 Therefore the LORD is *about to pity them; and he who will have mercy on you is strong*. For the LORD is *the God who performs the judgment; blessed are the righteous who hope for his deliverance*. 30.19 Because, people in Zion who dwell at Jerusalem, you shall weep no more. He will surely have mercy on you; *he will attend to the sound of your prayer and carry out your request*. 30.20 And the LORD will give you *the possessions of the adversary and the plunder of the one who distresses*, and *he will not any more take up his Shekhinah from the sanctuary, but your eyes will see the*

Apparatus

30:14 "rake" differs in meaning from the MT, but the meturgeman uses the cognate root.

30:15 "my law": all the extant witness apart from B.M. 2211 read "the law".

30:17 "bonfire" (*bw̄r*), used for the purpose of signalling, is a letter away from "flagstaff" (*bw̄t*), but the difference is important for assessing the context in which the meturgeman is speaking. Aruch attempted such an emendation (to *bw̄d*), and was followed by Levy I, pp. 85, 86.

30:18 "them" becomes "you" (as in the MT) in B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews' College. Stenning, p. 99, prefers this reading, which is, however, an accommodation to the Hebrew text.

30:19 "who" is innovative in that the MT reads "will dwell". Winton Thomas, p. 46, suggests that the original Hebrew text agreed with the Tg (and the Peshitta). But it is perhaps easier to suppose that the later two versions have coincidentally adopted similar, more straightforward syntax.

30:22 "castings" represents both texts (cf. BDB, p. 651 and Jastrow II, p. 862).
 "your" is plural in the Tg, and singular in the MT.

"menstruant" renders both texts (cf. BDB, p. 188 and Jastrow I, p. 524), although there are syntactical difficulties in the Hebrew which this rendering poses (cf. Young II, p. 359).

30:23 "your land": Stenning, p. 98, reads "your seed" (cf. the RSV), following Reuchlinianus, Ms. Jews' College, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles and the Antwerp Polyglot. But B.M. 2211 and B.M. 1474 confirm the non-harmonized reading.

"fat" is transposed in the Tg from earlier on in the MT ("plenteous" in the RSV). Similarly, "fed beasts" is probably inspired by *dšn* in the MT (RSV: "rich").

30:26 "will be" is repeated in B.M. 2211, but Stenning, p. 101, and Sperber, p. 60, agree that the repetition is an error.

30:29 "flow" describes the movement of the festal throng.
 "thanksgiving" (*tw̄d*) becomes "cow" (*tw̄r*; cf. 11:7) in B.M. 2211.

"holy" (*qdš*) becomes "sanctuary" (*mqdš*) in B.M. 2211, while B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus, and the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles retain the adjective. The waywardness of B.M. 2211 here (cf. above, and v. 26) is confirmed by the absence of "house" with the sanctuary usage (an absence which Ms. Jews' College alone tries to make up).

30:30 "graven things" (*pslyn*) is an unusual reading. The First and Second Rabbinic Bibles add "of scattering", which takes the verb *psl* in its second sense, cf. Levy II, p. 277. But this is a later reading, and represents an attempt to maintain some reminiscence of *nps* in the MT by using a form of *bdr* (cf. 24:1; 28:25; 41:16).

30:32 "war" is present in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 364). The RSV translators give us "arm", assuming an emendation on the basis of Isaiah 19:16. The Tg offers no practical support for such a conjecture.

30:33 "dwelling" derives from the cognate term, meaning "pyre", in the MT.

Shekhinah in the sanctuary. 30.21 And your ears shall hear the word behind you saying, “This is the *correct* way, walk in it,” you shall not turn aside from it to the right or to the left. 30.22 Then you will defile your silver-covered images and your gold-plated castings. You will despise them, as they despise the menstruant, so you will despise them. 30.23 And he will give rain for your land, the land which you will sow, and grain, and produce will increase in the land, and there will be nurture and good. In that time the righteous will be nurtured from their cattle, the fat of tender, fed breasts; 30.24 and the oxen and the asses with which they work the land will eat mixed provender, which one winnows with the shovel and the fork. 30.25 And upon every lofty mountain and every high hill there will be brooks running with water, a cause of stumbling for kings and their armies in a day of great slaughter, when princes fall. 30.26 Moreover the light of the moon will be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be about to shine three hundred forty-three times more, as the light of seven days, in the day when the LORD will return the exiles of his people, and will heal the sickness inflicted by his blow. 30.27 Behold, the name of the LORD is revealed just as the prophets from of old prophesied concerning it; his indignation is strong and too hard to bear. Before him a curse goes forth upon the wicked, and his Memra is like a devouring fire; 30.28 his Memra like a river overflowing to the neck will kill the strong, to sift the Gentiles with a sieve of emptiness, as a bridle of deception on the cheeks of the peoples. 30.29 You shall have a song as in the night in which a feast is sanctified, and gladness of heart just as when they flow with [a hymn of] thanksgiving and with pipe to go to the holy mountain of the LORD, to appear before the Strong One of Israel. 30.30 And the LORD will cause the brilliant voice of his Memra to be heard and disclose the strength of his mighty arm, in strength of anger and flames of the fire which destroys graven things and tempest and hailstones. 30.31 For the Assyrian who strikes with a dominion is broken up at the voice of the Memra of the LORD. 30.32 And every passage of their princes and their strong ones among whom the LORD will lay his mighty retribution will be to the sound of timbrels and lyres; the house of Israel will sing for the strong war which will be made for them with the Gentiles. 30.33 For Gehenna has long been prepared in view of their sins; indeed, the eternal king has made it ready, deepening and widening its dwelling. Fire burns in it as in abundant wood; the Memra of the LORD like a mighty stream of brimstone, it burns in it.

Notes

specifically military ruin in v. 13 is not startling, but it is a departure from the MT. V. 17 would appear to allude to the ancient use of bonfires for signalling, cf. Safrai and Stern (1976) 850f. and Rosh Hashannah 22b.

30:18-30:33 The “*deliverance*” which awaits “*the righteous*” (v. 18) is expressed in terms of the permanent presence of the Shekhinah in the Temple, a presence which assures their “*prayer*” is answered (vv. 19, 20, cf. 1:15). But even in the midst of such positive statements, the meturgeman feels compelled to mention the “*stumbling*” of enemy “*armies*” and their “*kings*” (v. 25). God’s return of the exiles is to be a supernatural event; the light of the sun will not only be “*sevensfold*” (as in the MT/RSV), but seven cubed (“*three hundred forty-three times more*”, v. 26). The imagery then turns to the burning of God’s Memra, prophesied by the very prophets Israel had rejected (vv. 27, 28, 30, 33 cf. v. 10). The destruction of “*the Gentiles*” (vv. 28, 32) and their “*graven things*” (v. 30) will be celebrated as a cultic feast (vv. 29, 32).

CHAPTER 31

31.1 Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help and rely on horses, who trust in chariots because *they are* many and in horsemen because they are very strong, but do not *rely on the Memra of the Holy One of Israel* or seek *teaching from the LORD*. 31.2 And yet he *in his wisdom* brings evil *on the one who does it*, he does not *let his words cease*, but *confirms [them]* against the house of the evildoers and against *those who help deceitful labour*. 31.3 *The Egyptians* are men and not *prince(s)*; and their horses are flesh and not spirit. When the LORD *lifts up the stroke of his might*, help will stumble and help will fall, and they will all *be destroyed* together. 31.4 For thus the LORD said to me, *As a lion or a young lion roars over its prey*, and, when a band of shepherds *are appointed* against it, it is not *broken up* at their shouting or *checked* at their *tumult*, so *the kingdom of the LORD of hosts will be revealed to settle upon the Mount of Zion and upon its hill*. 31.5 Like *the bird soars*, so *the might of the LORD of hosts will be revealed* over Jerusalem; he will protect and deliver, *rescue and remove*. 31.6 Return to *the law*, for you have increased sinning, O sons of Israel. 31.7 For in that *time* every one will cast away *their* idols of silver and *their* idols of gold, *the sin* which your hands have made for you. 31.8 “And *the Assyrian* shall fall by a sword, not of man; and a sword, not of man, shall *destroy* him; and he shall flee before *those who slay with the sword*, and his *mighty ones [shall flee]* to their breaking. 31.9 His *rulers*

Apparatus

31:1 “*rely*” may result from deriving “*look*” (*s^vh*) in the MT from “*lean*” (*s^vn*), cf. 17:7. In the present, innovative phrase, however, it should probably be regarded as a departure from the MT.

31:2 “*confirms*” is a causative form of the verb which may mean “*arise*” (cf. the MT/RSV). “*those who help*”: the form of the MT is actually nominal. The meturgeman follows the vocabulary of “*help*” in the syntax of “*those who work*” (cf. the RSV).

31:3 “*help...help*”: Stenning, pp. 102, 103 follows those variants which tend to make the Tg agree with the MT. Only B.M. 1474 offers a plausible reading along these lines, and even this departs from what seems to be the preferred Targumic construction of the passive (cf. 5:6). For this reason, the reading of B.M. 2211, with its emphasis on the help Egypt was thought to have offered (cf. v.1), is here accepted.

31:8 “*their breaking*” becomes “*shall be for breaking*” in the witnesses other than B.M. 2211, but the majority reading approximates the MT.

32:2 “*like*” (on the second occasion) is written “*in*” by the scribe of B.M. 2211 alone.

32:4 “*dreamers*” is arrived at by a play on words on the part of the meturgeman. The root *mhr* in the MT is taken to suggest the participle of *hrhr* in Aramaic. Cf. 29:7 (misprinted in van Zijl, p. 51, as 27:9).

32:5 The verse is cast in the plural in the Tg, rather than the singular; but the syntax of the two texts is the same.

32:7 “*and the pleas*” renders “*when he pleads*” in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 388, and RSV).

32:8 “*will be established*” renders the root cognate with the verb represented “*stands*” in the RSV, but in a different form. Although the imperfect tense is used in both texts, in the MT its sense is durative, while it is emphatically future in the Tg.

32:9 “*in safety*” (as in vv. 10, 11: *trwhsn*) is, as usual, related to the root *b^vh* in the MT (cf. 30:15; here: *b^vhwt*).

32:10 “*produce*” (“*l*”) is derived from the cognate root of “*will come*” in the MT.

32:11 “*strip*” is syntactically innovative in the Tg, in respect of both mood and number (cf. the other verbs in v. 11b, as well, and Young II, pp. 394, 395). Dalman (1960) 277, 278 classifies *shhw* as a feminine imperative, but in view of the formations in v. 9, this construction is unlikely. The analysis of Stenning, p. 105, and of van Zijl, p. 191, is here preferred.

shall pass away *before* terror, and his princes *break up before the standard*," says the LORD, whose *splendour* is in Zion *for those who perform his law*, and whose *burning furnace of fire* is in Jerusalem *for those who transgress his Memra*.

CHAPTER 32

32.1 Behold, *the king will reign for truth, and the righteous will be exalted to take just retribution from the Gentiles*. 32.2 *The righteous who hide themselves from the wicked will be like those who hide themselves from a tempest; they will return and be exalted and their teaching will be accepted in haste* like streams of water *that flow in a thirsty land*, like the shadow of a *cool* rock in a weary land. 32.3 Then the eyes of *the righteous* will not be closed, and the *ears* of those *who listen to teaching* will hearken. 32.4 The mind of the *dreamers* will have good judgment, and *their tongue, which was dumb*, will speak readily and distinctly. 32.5 The *wicked* will no more be called *righteous*, nor will *those who transgress his Memra* be said to be *strong*. 32.6 For *the wicked* speak *wickedness*, and *in their mind they conceive oppression*: to practise *deceit*, to utter *error before the LORD*, to weary the soul of *the righteous, who desire teaching as a hungry person [desires] bread, and the words of the law, which they desire as a thirsty person [desires] water, they think to void*. 32.7 *The deeds of the wicked* are evil; they devise *over sinful plans* to ruin the poor with lying words *and the pleas of the needy in judgment*. 32.8 But *the righteous* devise *truth*, and *they will be established by their truth*.

32.9 Rise up, you *provinces* who dwell *contentedly*, hear my voice; you *fortresses that lie in safety*, give ear to my *Memra*. 32.10 Days with years *those who lie in safety* will shudder; for *the grain* has ceased, *there is no produce to gather*. 32.11 *Those who dwell contentedly are shattered, those who lie in safety shudder; they strip, and make themselves bare, and gird [sackcloth] upon loins*. 32.12 They beat upon breasts for *the pleasant fields*, for *bearing vines*, 32.13 for the land of my people which will bring

Notes

31:1-31:9 The scene of judgment continues, and is directed against those who have rejected "*the Memra*" and "*teaching*" (vv. 1, 2, 3); they shall be associated with "*the Assyrian*" (v. 8) in the "*burning furnace of fire*" (v. 9) which is Gehenna (cf. 30:33). On the other hand, "*splendour*" is promised "*those who perform his law*" (v. 9) on the basis of God's mighty intervention, which is called "*the kingdom of the LORD*" (v. 4, cf. 24:23).

32:1-32:8 The "*king*," who is the agent of the scene which is depicted, is probably God himself (cf. 30:33; 31:4), and he offers "*the righteous*" exaltation at the expense of "*the Gentiles*" (v. 1, cf. 66:24). "*Just retribution*" (v. 1) includes the acceptance, at long last, of the righteous' "*teaching*," which is based on the law and truth (vv. 2-8).

32:9-32:20 The reference to "*provinces*" (cf. 2:13 in the Notes) and "*fortresses*" which are at ease is rather surprising, given all that has preceded (vv. 9-11). Indeed, vv. 12-14 make it quite plain that "*the sanctuary*" and "*the cities*" around it have already been destroyed. The perspective of the passage is quite clearly of the period after A.D. 70; the return of the Shekhinah, and consequent redevelopment, is awaited. Two features may suggest that the Amoraic meturgeman is here represented. First, vv. 9-11, 19b have in mind settled residence, not military occupation, so that the Roman period does not seem to be alluded to. Second, the intervention against "*the armies of the Gentiles*" is

up *briers and thorn*; yea, for all the joyous houses in *the strong city*. 32.14 For the *sanctuary is desolate*, the multitude of the cities which were its service are *devastated*; our *stronghold* and our *hiding place has been searched*, now it is *desolate and devastated* for a time; a place that was a *house of joy*, a *pleasure for kings*, now has become a *plundering of armies*; 32.15 all this until a spirit comes for us from him whose *Shekhinah is in the heavens of the height*, and the *wilderness becomes a fruitful field*, and the *fruitful field causes many cities to be inhabited*. 32.16 Then those who perform judgment will dwell in the *wilderness*, and those who do righteousness abide in the *fruitful field*. 32.17 And those who do righteousness will be quiet and dwell in safety for ever. 32.18 My people will abide in *their habitations* at

Apparatus

32:14 “cities” is the form required by the syntax of the passage, although B.M. 2211 agrees with the singular usage of the MT. But cf. 29:17 (and 32:15, 18) for the characteristically Targumic usage.

“service” is repointed as a participle in witnesses other than B.M. 2211 and Ms. Jews’ College. (Van Zijl, pp. 152, 171, rather curiously accepts the present variant, but not “cities”, cf. above.) This reading is clearly dependent on the reading “cities”, but it is not a necessary precondition of it. The use of the noun in such a context is stylistically to be expected (cf. 28:10), although *byh* (“in it”, here rendered “its”) is admittedly odd. Quite plausibly, however, the odd syntax of the original reading has resulted in a later correction to smoother grammar, rather than the reverse progression.

“a pleasure” in the Tg is arrived at by a play on the Hebrew root *r'ch* (cf. BDB, p. 946); van Zijl’s derivation (p. 61) is probably misleading.

32:15 “causes many cities to be inhabited” is the reading proposed by Stenning (p. 104) on the basis of 29:17 (and cf. B.M. 1474). It is, however, not necessary to alter the pointing of the verb (cf. the usage of ‘d’, especially in B.M. 2211). Indeed, v. 16 shows that the scribe of B.M. 1474 is also inconsistent in his habits of pointing.

33:1 “tire” does not support the emendation of the Hebrew text suggested by Winton Thomas, p. 50, BDB, p. 649, the RSV, and Young II, p. 404. Rather, *nh*, as in the MT, can be understood.

33:2 “every” is present in the Tg, and supplied in the RSV.

33:3 “shattered” becomes “scattered” in B.M. 1474, and the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles (cf. the end of the verse).

33:4 “setting afire” follows Jastrow I, p. 37 (and Stenning, p. 106), as a translation of the Aramaic text, against Levy I, p. 18. Rather than deriving *'zn* from *'z*, Levy posits a causative form of *zyn* which he otherwise (cf. p. 219) does not instance. The verb was probably arrived at by the meturgeman from the Hebrew root *slq* (taken as the basis of *m'sq* by word play), rather than *lqq* (cf. van Zijl, p. 5).

33:6 “happen” does not represent a Targumic innovation, but an alteration of the sense of the verb “to be” which results from the additional phrase.

“is about” is used in the sense of being imminent, in accordance with normal Targumic usage.

33:7 The margin of Reuchlinianus presents the following reading:

Behold, when I revealed myself to Abraham, their father, and promised to give him Isaac, he believed in my Memra. And after that, the second time, when I commanded that he offer him up as a burnt offering, he did not delay, but went and built the altar on Mount Moriah, and offered him up as a burnt offering. All the angels of the height arose, quaking messengers, shaking messengers, and were crying out back to their place, saying, Lord of the world, is this not Abraham, the righteous, for whose virtue the world is founded? To him you gave a son after one hundred years, and you promised him, by Isaac sons will be named after you. But the messengers of peace which stood in the camp of the Shekhinah were weeping in bitterness until mercies were revealed, and I had pity on him. Now the righteous are destroyed, who walked in the paths of the patriarchs. The faithful have ceased, who walked in ways that are correct before me. They have changed the covenants of the law. Because when they were cast away from their cities and went into exile, the sons of men did not consider him. Those who dwelt in the land mourned the devastation, and the sanctuary was destroyed. The city of Jerusalem lies waste, as the wilderness; the walls are demolished; those who produce hard things are as Bashan and Carmel.

33:8 “changed the covenant”: cf. 24:5. The noun in the MT is also singular at this point, despite the impression given in the RSV.

“cast away” is syntactically innovative, but *r'q* elsewhere renders *m's* in the MT, cf. van Zijl, pp. 178, 179.

peace, upon their land in safety, and in their cities contentedly. 32.19 And hail will come down and kill the armies of the Gentiles, and their residents will be devastated and come to an end. 32.20 Happy are you, the righteous; you have made good deeds for yourselves, you who resemble those who sow beside irrigation, who send the oxen to thresh and the asses to gather.

CHAPTER 33

33.1 Woe to you, who comes to plunder—will they not plunder you?; who comes to rob—will they not rob you? When you come to plunder, they will plunder you; and when you tire of robbing, they will rob you. 33.2 O LORD, be gracious to us; we wait for your *Memra*. Be our stronghold on every day, our saviour in the time of trouble. 33.3 At the thunderous noise the peoples are shattered, at many prodigies the kingdoms are scattered; 33.4 and the house of Israel will gather the possessions of the Gentiles, their adversaries, just as those who gather the caterpillar; setting afire weaponry just as those who set kindling afire. 33.5 The LORD is strong who makes his *Shekhinah* dwell in the heavens of the height, who promises to fill Zion with those who perform true judgment and virtue. 33.6 And that which you promised, to do good to those who fear you, will happen, you will bring and establish in its time, strength and salvation, wisdom, and knowledge; for those who fear the LORD, the treasure of his goodness is about (to come). 33.7 Behold, when it will be revealed to them, the messengers of the Gentiles will cry out in bitterness; those who went to announce peace return to weeping in soulful bitterness. 33.8 The highways lie waste, the wayfaring men cease. Because they changed the covenant, they will be cast away from their cities; the sons of men did not regard that the evil was coming upon them. 33.9 The land mourns and is desolate; Lebanon is dried up and fades; Sharon is like the desert; and Bashan and Carmel are devastated.

Notes

purely supernatural; the picture of the Messiah's military triumph is not appealed to (v. 19, cf. 10:27; 14:29; 16:1). The hope of vindication remains, but there would seem to be some reluctance to approve rebellion against the contemporary Gentile authority (cf. Neusner [1972]).

33:1–33:9 Although the conditions reflected in this oracle are much as in chapter 32 (cf. vv. 8, 9), it promises a reversal of the order of plundering and robbery, to the benefit of Israel (vv. 1, 4, 7). The basis of this revolution is God alone, whose *Shekhinah* awaits its disclosure "in the heavens of the height" (vv. 5, 6).

33.10 “Now I will *be revealed*,” says the LORD, “now I will lift myself up; now I will be exalted. 33.11 You conceive *for yourselves wicked conceptions*, you *Gentiles*, you *make yourselves evil deeds*; *because of your evil deeds my Memra, as the whirlwind the chaff, will destroy you*. 33.12 And *the peoples will be burned with fire*; thorns cut down are burned in the fire.” 33.13 Hear, *you righteous, who have kept my law from the beginning*, what I have done; and *you penitent, who have repented to the law recently*, acknowledge my might. 33.14 *Sinners in Zion are shattered; fear has seized them. To the wicked whose ways are thieving they say*, “Who can dwell for us in Zion, where the splendour of the Shekhinah is like a devouring fire? Who can *sojourn* for us in Jerusalem, where the wicked are about to be judged and handed over to Gehenna, everlasting burning?” 33.15 *The prophet said, The righteous will sojourn in it, everyone who walks in innocence and speaks uprightly, who despises mammon of deceit, who removes his soul from oppressors, who withholds his hands, lest they accept a bribe, who stops his ears from hearing those who spill innocent blood and averts his eyes from looking upon those who do evil*, 33.16 *he, his camping place will be in a high and exalted place, the sanctuary; his soul will amply provide his food*; his water will be sure as a spring of waters whose waters do not cease. 33.17 Your eyes will see the glory of the Shekhinah of the eternal king in his *celebrity*; you will consider and behold those who go down to the land of Gehenna. 33.18 Your mind will reckon up great things: “Where are the scribes, where are the reckoners?” Let them come if they are able to reckon the number of the slain heads of the armies of the mighty ones. 33.19 You will no more see the *mastery* of a strong people, the people whose obscure speech you cannot comprehend, scoffing with their tongue because there is no understanding among them. 33.20 You will look upon their downfall, Zion, city of our assemblies!

Apparatus

33:13 “*my law*” becomes “*the law*” in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot.

33:14 “*they say*”: that is, the “*sinners*” turn to the “*wicked*” for advice.

33:16 “*sanctuary*” is inspired from the verb *škn* (which is related to “Shekhinah”) in the MT (RSV: “*dwell*”).

“*amply provide his food*” is the reading of B.M. 2211 and 1474. Stenning, p. 108, follows the pointing of Reuchlinianus, Ms. Jews’ College, and the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles in reading “*will eat to satiety*”. Although the reading of the British Museum manuscripts is unusual, it is just about sensible, when understood as referring to the provision of food for oneself.

33:18 “*scribe(s)*” renders the MT, as well (cf. Young II, p. 415).

“*reckoners*”: a phrase is added (“*where are the princes?*”) in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot.

33:19 “*more*” is supplied in the RSV, and present in the Tg. Instead of “*no more*”, Ms. Jews’ College, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles and the Antwerp Polyglot have “*not be able to*”.

“*obscure*” (or “*difficult*”, literally: “*deep*”), in respect of speech, is the construction of the Tg. The form in the MT should be construed in respect of the people (cf. Young II, p. 415).

“*scoffing*” takes up the diction of the MT, but ignores the niphal form (cf. BDB, p. 541).

33:21 “*ship*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young II, p. 416).

“*sailboat*” is a Greek loan word (cf. *liburnis*), and is also used in a discussion of this passage attributed to Rab in Rosh Hashannah 23a.

Your eyes will see *the consolation of Jerusalem in its prosperity, in its contentedness, like a tent which is not loosed*, whose stakes are never plucked up, nor will any of its cords be broken. 33.21 But from there *the might of the LORD will be revealed to do good for us, from a place of rivers going forth, overflowing, broad, where no fisherman's ship can go, nor any great sailboat can pass through*. 33.22 For the LORD is our judge, *who brought us by his might out of Egypt, the LORD is our teacher, who gave us the teaching of his law from Sinai, the LORD is our king; he will save us and take just retribution for us from the armies of Gog*. 33.23 *In that time the Gentiles will be broken of their strength, and will resemble a ship whose ropes are cut, which has no strength in their mast, which has been cut, and it is not possible to spread a sail on it*. Then *the house of Israel will divide the possessions of the Gentiles, booty and spoil in abundance; although there are blind and lame among them, even they will divide booty and spoil in abundance*. 33.24 *From now on they will not say to the people who dwell in safety all around the Shekinah, "From you a stroke of sickness has come upon us"; the people, the house of Israel, will be gathered and return to their place, forgiven of their sins*.

Notes

33:10–33:24 God's revelation is the punishment of the "Gentiles" (vv. 10, 11, 12), and the reward of all those who keep the law (v. 13). V. 13 would seem to assume that the "penitent" (*tby*) have already responded to the message concerning repentance (in which other forms of *twh* predominate, cf. 57:19 and Chilton [1982] 39, 40, 135 n. 6, 154 n. 13). This is a distinctive usage within the Tg, in which repentance is generally demanded, not assumed, and it coheres with the interpretation of 57:19 by the Amoraic meturgeman (cf. the Notes). Nonetheless, both consolation and punishment are associated with the Shekinah's restored presence in Jerusalem (vv. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). By definition, such a situation means the end of the present "mastery" (v. 19) in order to permit of Jerusalem's "consolation" (v. 20). Just as God brought Israel from Egypt and gave the law, he will crush "the Gentiles" (vv. 21-23). The particular reference of "armies of Gog" (v. 22), inspired by Ezekiel 38 and 39 (directly or indirectly), is probably Babylon, although it may also be quite figurative (cf. "Gog and Magog" in Revelation 20:8 and Tg Is. 10:32 in an alternative recension [cf. the Apparatus]). In either case, the image is in stark contrast to the security offered "the house of Israel" by the presence of the Shekinah (v. 24).

CHAPTER 34

34.1 Draw near, O *peoples*, to hear, and hearken, O *kingdoms*! let the earth listen, and all that fills it; the world, and all that *reside in* it. 34.2 For there is anger *before* the LORD against all the *Gentiles*, and *slaughter* against all their *armies*, he has *declared* them *sinners*, *handed* them over for slaughter. 34.3 Their slain will be cast out, and the *smoke* of their corpses shall rise; the mountains shall flow with their blood. 34.4 All the *forces* of heaven shall *melt completely* and *be wiped from under* the skies *just as was said concerning them in* the scroll. All their *armies* shall *come to an end* as leaves fall from a vine, like what is withered from a fig. 34.5 For my sword *will be revealed* in the heavens; behold it will *be revealed* for the judgment upon Edom, upon the people *I have declared sinners*. 34.6 *The sword from* the LORD is sated with blood, it is gorged with fat, with the blood of *kings* and *rulers*, with the fat of the kidneys of *princes*. For there is *slaughter from* the LORD in Bozrah, and great *sacrifice* in the land of Edom. 34.7 *Mighty ones* shall *be killed* with them, and *rulers* with *tyrants*. Their land shall be soaked with *their* blood, and their soil made rich with *their* fat. 34.8 For there is a day of vengeance *before* the LORD, a year of recompense, *to take just retribution for the mortification of Zion*. 34.9 And the streams of *Rome* shall be turned into pitch, and her soil into brimstone; her land shall become burning pitch. 34.10 Night and day it shall not be quenched; its smoke shall go up for ever. From generation to generation it will be desolate; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. 34.11 But pelicans and porcupines shall possess it, owls and ravens shall dwell in it. The line of *desolation* and

Apparatus

34:4 “completely”: cf. Levy II, p. 76.

34:5 “*I have declared sinners*”: the nominal phrase of the MT (cf. Young II, p. 432) is rendered with a verbal one in the Tg.

34:6 “*slaughter*”: B.M. 1474 here adds “confusion” (before the term). The other witnesses simply invert the order of the MT.

34:7 “*Their land*” becomes “*the land*” in Reuchlinianus.

34:9 “*Rome*”: cf. the RSV margin and Young II, p. 435. The term is effaced in the First Rabbinic Bible (cf. Sperber, p. 68; Pauli [1871] 113 n. 3).

34:12 “*free*” (*hwryn*) is arrived at by a play on “*its nobles*” (*hryh*) in the MT, which is transposed to the end of v. 11 in the RSV.

34:15 “*porcupine*”: the translation can be explained by taking the Hebrew text as *qpwd*, rather than *qpwz*.

“*their young*” (*qwryhwn*): cf. Jastrow II, p. 1341. Stenning, p. 112, rightly rejects Levy’s “*their partridges*” (II, p. 383), but too hastily appeals to the marginal reading in Reuchlinianus (“*their cubs*” [*gwryhwn*]), which is clearly explanatory. The use of “*their*”, which seems odd at first sight, anticipates the thought of the second part of the verse.

“*each one*”: the term in the MT is “*female*”, which is copied in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot (cf. v. 16 in all the extant manuscripts).

35:1 “*thirsty*” (*shy*) sounds much as “*dry*” (*syh*) in the MT.

“*land*” is supplied in the RSV, and present in the Tg.

35:4 “*to take just retribution*” is the characteristically Targumic phrase, although “*retribution*” (or “*vengeance*”, cf. 34:8) is already present in the MT.

the plummet of *devastation* shall be stretched over it. 34.12 *They were saying, We are free, and did not wish to accept a kingdom over them*, and all its princes will be for nothing. 34.13 Thorns shall grow over its palaces, *and* nettles and thistles in the *stronghold* of its fortresses. It shall be a haunt of jackals, a *place* for ostriches. 34.14 And wild beasts shall meet with *cats, demons will play, one with his fellow*; yea, there will night hags *lie*, and find for *themselves* a resting place. 34.15 There shall a *porcupine* nest and lay and *their* young *mew* in her shadow; yea, thence shall kites be gathered, *each one with her mate*. 34.16 Seek and *search* in the book of the LORD: not one of these is missing; no female is without her mate. For *by his Memra they will be gathered, and by his pleasure they will draw near*. 34.17 He *by his Memra* has cast the lot for them, *by his pleasure he* has portioned it out to them with the line; they shall possess it for ever, from generation to generation they shall dwell in it.

CHAPTER 35

35.1 *Those who dwell in the wilderness, in a thirsty land, shall be glad, those who settle in the desert shall rejoice and blossom like lilies.* 35.2 *They shall exult abundantly, and rejoice with joy and gladness. The glory of Lebanon shall be given to them, the brilliance of Carmel and Sharon. The house of Israel-these things are said to them-they shall see the glory of the LORD, the brilliance of the celebrity of our God.* 35.3 *The prophet said, Strengthen weak hands, and make firm feeble knees.* 35.4 *Say to those who are eager in their heart to perform the law, “Be strong, fear not! Behold, your God is revealed to take just retribution, the LORD is master of recompenses, he will be revealed and save you.”* 35.5 *Then the eyes of the house of Israel, that were as blind to the law, shall be opened, and their ears, which were as deaf to listen to the*

Notes

34:1-34:17 The present chapter does little more than repeat the scenario of the supernatural (vv. 5-8) destruction of Gentile armies (vv. 2, 4). But it is notable that Rome (from the Greek spelling, *hRōmē*) is openly mentioned (v. 9). The connection between Rome and Edom is well established in rabbinic literature (cf. Stemberger [1983] 178), but the Tannaitic meturgeman was far more circumspect in chapter 28. There is nonetheless some indication that the present, Amoraic meturgeman has incorporated earlier traditions (for vv. 13f, cf. 13:21f.; in respect of v. 12, cf. John 8:33).

35:1-35:10 The clear, positive promise to “*the house of Israel*” (vv. 2, 5, 10), last expressed in 33:24, is voiced again as prophecy (v. 3). Particularly, it is portrayed as a new acceptance of the law and the prophetic message (v. 5), and

sayings of the prophets, shall listen; 35.6 then, when they see the exiles of Israel who are gathered and going up to their land, even as swift harts, and not to be checked, their tongue which was dumb shall sing for joy. For waters have broken out in the wilderness, and streams in the deserts; 35.7 and the parched gound shall become pools of water, and the thirsty area springs of water; the place where jackals dwell, there reeds and rushes will increase. 35.8 And a fine highway shall be there, it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it, and wayfarers shall not cease, and those who have not learned shall not err. 35.9 No king who does evil shall be there, nor any ruler who distresses pass through it; they shall not be found there, but the redeemed shall walk there. 35.10 And the redeemed of the LORD shall be gathered from among their exiles, and come to Zion with singing; everlasting joy shall be theirs, that does not cease, and a cloud of glory shall cover your heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall cease from them, from the house of Israel.

CHAPTER 36

36.1 In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, Sennacherib *the king of Assyria* came up against the fortified cities *of the house of Judah* and took them. 36.2 And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish to King Hezekiah at Jerusalem with *many armies*. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool *which is* on the highway to the

Apparatus

35:6 “have broken out” renders both texts (cf. Young II, p. 450).
 “deserts”: B.M. 2211 alone attests the plural reading.

35:7 “increase” becomes “go up” in the First and the Second Rabbinic Bibles, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College.

35:8 “fine” (*tyqwn*) in the Tg renders the repetition of “way” in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 452).
 “wayfarers . . .”: cf. the RSV margin. The previous clause in the Tg is also cast in the plural.

35:10 “your heads”: the extant manuscripts other than B.M. 2211 agree with “their” in the MT.

36:4 “great” appears in a form (*drbtm*) used particularly of the king of Assyria in the Targums (cf. v. 13, Levy II, pp. 403, 404, and Tg 2 Kings 18:19).

36:5 “I say indeed” and “speech of lips” are the readings of the MT (cf. Young II, p. 459).
 “as” is the reading of B.M. 2211, while the other extant witnesses have “with”. The sense seems to be, “I say now quite precisely . . .”. The variant would have the king making war in speech, plan, and execution.

36:7 “you” in the Tg is plural, rather than singular, as in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 360). Cf. also Winton Thomas, p. 54, for the reading of the LXX and the Qumran Isaiah Scroll (a), which is also plural. B.M. 1474 agrees with the MT in this case.

36:8 “you” here is singular, as in the MT.
 “to muster” (*lmn’h*): “to set” is the reading of B.M. 2211 (literally, “to give”, as in the MT). The other extant witnesses read “to muster”, which accords with the style of the Tg (cf. van Zijl, p. 108). In this case, B.M. 2211 might be taken to give the more harmonistic reading (but cf. below, in respect of v. 9).

36:9 “rulers”, without qualification, is the reading of B.M. 2211, while the other witnesses insert “servants” thereafter, and so approximate the MT. These witnesses also read “Egypt” later in the verse, rather than “the Egyptians”.

36:10 “land” (on the first occasion) becomes “place” in Reuchlinianus, which possibly refers to the Temple.

36:16 “drink” is singular. The use of the imperative which precedes accords with the syntax of the MT (cf. Young II, p. 464; the RSV presents a paraphrase here). All the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211 also follow the plural imperative usage here, and Stenning, p. 119, accepts their reading. A transcriptional error of the sort Stenning presupposes could easily be made, but the usage of “cistern” with the singular pronominal suffix perhaps makes the singular usage more natural here.

field where the fullers spread [cloth]. 36.3 And there came out to him Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, who was appointed over the household, and Shebna the secretary, and Joah the son of Asaph, who was appointed over the records. 36.4 And Rabshakeh said to them, “Say to Hezekiah, ‘Thus says the great king, the king of Assyria: On what do you rest this confidence of yours? 36.5 I say indeed, as speech of lips, with strategy and power I will make war. On whom do you now rely, that you have rebelled against me? 36.6 Behold, you are relying on *Pharaoh king of Egypt*, that broken reed of a staff, which will pierce the hand of the man who leans on it. Such is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all who rely on him. 36.7 But if you say to me, “We rely on the *Memra of the LORD our God*,” is it not he whose high places and altars Hezekiah has removed, saying to the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, “You shall worship before this altar”? 36.8 Come now, make a wager with my master the king of Assyria; I will give you two thousand horses, if you are able on your part to muster riders upon them. 36.9 How then can you think to repulse a one among the least of my master’s rulers, when you rely on the *Egyptians* for chariots and horsemen? 36.10 Moreover, is it without the *Memra of the LORD* that I have come up against this land to destroy it? The LORD said to me, Go up against this land, and destroy it.”” 36.11 Then Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah said to Rabshakeh, “Pray, speak with your servants in Aramaic, for we understand it; do not speak with us in the language of Judah before the people who are on the wall.” 36.12 But Rabshakeh said, “Has my master sent me to speak these words against your master and against you, and not against the men sitting on the wall, who are doomed with you to eat their own dung and drink their own urine in the siege?” 36.13 Then Rabshakeh stood and cried out in a loud voice in the language of Judah: “Hear the words of the great king, the king of Assyria! 36.14 Thus says the king: ‘Do not let Hezekiah deceive you, for he will not be able to deliver you. 36.15 Do not let Hezekiah make you rely on the *Memra of the LORD* by saying, “The LORD will surely deliver us; this city will not be handed over into the hand of the king of Assyria.” 36.16 Do not listen to Hezekiah; for thus says the king of Assyria: Make peace with me and come out to me; then eat, everyone the fruit of his own vines, and everyone the fruit of his own fig trees, and drink, everyone the water of his own cistern; 36.17 until I come and lead you to a good land like your own land, a land of grain and wine, a land of fields and vineyards. 36.18 Beware lest Hezekiah mislead you by saying, “The LORD will deliver us.” Has any of the gods of the peoples delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? 36.19 Where is the god of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? 36.20 Who among all the gods of these provinces have delivered their land out of my hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?’” 36.21 But they were silent, and answered him not the word, for the king’s command was, “Do not answer him.” 36.22

Notes

return from exile (vv. 6, 10). The new protection afforded Israel (v. 10, cf. 4:5) involves the defeat of those who resist the divine will (v. 9).

36:1–36:22 The Targumic innovations in this chapter are slight, although the sense of its translation of v. 5 is notable as compared to the RSV. The reading “rulers” (v. 9) may be interpreted in terms of 35:9 and 28:20, but it probably should not be pressed for a specific meaning. It might also be worthy of mention that Eliakim and Shebna are here clearly involved in a temporary but powerful administration, which may partially explain the treatment of these figures in chapter 22.

Then Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, who was *appointed* over the household, and Shebna the secretary, and Joah the son of Asaph, who was *appointed* over the records, came to Hezekiah with *their* clothes rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

CHAPTER 37

37. 1 When King Hezekiah heard, he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sack-cloth, and went into the *sanctuary* of the LORD. 37.2 And he sent Eliakim, who was *appointed* over the household, and Shebna the secretary, and the senior priests, clothed with sackcloths, to the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz. 37.3 They said to him, “Thus says Hezekiah, ‘This day is a day of distress, of *reproaches*, and of disgrace; *distress* has *encircled us as a woman who sits at the birth*, and there is no *force in her* to bring forth. 37.4 Perhaps *there is heard before* the LORD your God the words of Rabshakeh, whom his master the king of Assyria has sent to mock *the people of* the living *LORD*, and the *LORD* your God will *take retribution for all* the words which *are heard before him*; therefore you will *supplicate in* prayer for *this* remnant that is left.” 37.5 When the servants of King Hezekiah came to Isaiah, 37.6 Isaiah said to them, “Say to your master, ‘Thus says the *LORD*: Do not be afraid *before* the words which you have heard, with which the young men of the king of Assyria have *mocked before* me. 37.7 Behold, I will put a spirit in him, and he will hear a *report* and return to his own land; and I will make him fall by *the sword* in his own land.’” 37.8 Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria *waging war* against Libnah; for he had heard that the king had left Lachish. 37.9 Now he heard concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, “He has set out to *wage war* against you.” And when he heard it, he sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying, 37.10 “Thus shall you speak to Hezekiah king of *the tribe of the house of*

Apparatus

37:3 “disgrace”: the reading of B.M. 1474 is plural.

37:9 “he heard”: “it was heard” is the reading of B.M. 2211 and Ms. Jews’ College (cf. vv. 4, 17), against the MT and all the other extant witnesses. But the lack of *qdm* following “heard” suggests that the unusual form is not a deliberate innovation, but the result of careless copying under the influence of similar forms.

37:10 “rely”: B.M. 1474 adds, “to be delivered”.

37:13 “*cast...out*” is derived from *hn* in the MT, as if it were a causative form of *nw* (cf. 37:22). The Hebrew term is construed as a proper noun in the RSV, and by Young (II, p. 479).

“*exile*” relates to *‘wh* in the MT, and is perhaps taken by the meturgeman as an intensive verb, rather than a proper noun (cf. above, and RSV and Young).

37:16 “*above*” is actually used in the Tg; it is supplied in the RSV (cf. Young II, p. 482).

37:22 “*head*” is put in the plural by the extant witnesses apart from B.M. 2211.

37:25 “*deep*” (*myqyn*) presents no problems, despite the appearance given by the misprint in Stenning, p. 123.

37:26 “*waves*” is the same word as “*heaps*” (cf. the RSV) in both Hebrew (cf. BDB, p. 164) and Aramaic (cf. Jastrow I, p. 243).

“*subside*” (*shw*) is derived from “fall in ruins” (*nsym*) in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 663). Stenning emends the text to “*are stilled*” (*shw*), largely on the basis of conjecture (but following Aruch). B.M. 1474 reads a form of *sd* (“*toss*”), which also appears at 10:14 in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College. The variants both appear to reflect attempts to explain an unusual original form.

Judah: 'Do not let your God on whom you rely deceive you by promising that Jerusalem will not be *handed over* into the hand of the king of Assyria. 37.11 Behold, you have heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all the *provinces*, destroying them utterly. And *do you think to* be delivered? 37.12 Have the gods of the *peoples*, which my fathers destroyed, delivered them, Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and the sons of Eden who were in Telassar? 37.13 Where is the king of Hamath, the king of Arpad, the king of the city of Sepharvaim, *did they not cast them out and exile them?"* 37.14 Hezekiah received the letters from the hand of the messengers, and read *one of them*; and Hezekiah went up to the *sanctuary* of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD. 37.15 And Hezekiah prayed *before* the LORD: 37:16 "O LORD of hosts, God of Israel, whose *Shekhinah* is enthroned *above* the cherubim; you are *he, LORD, there is none besides you* of all the kingdoms of the earth; you have made the heavens and the earth. 37.17 *It is disclosed before you, O LORD, and judge; it is heard before you, O LORD, and avenge yourself; and take retribution for* all the words of Sennacherib, which he has sent to mock *the people of the living LORD*. 37.18 *In truth, O LORD,* the kings of Assyria have laid waste all the *provinces* and their land, 37.19 and *burn* their *idols* in the fire; for they were no *idols in which there is worth*, but a work of men's hands, wood and stone; and they destroyed them. 37.20 So now, O LORD our God, save us from his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that you are the LORD, *there is none besides you.*" 37.21 Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah, saying, "Thus says the LORD God of Israel: Because you *besought before* me concerning Sennacherib king of Assyria, 37.22 this is the word which the LORD has *decreed* concerning him: 'She despises you, she *distresses* you—the *kingdom of the congregation* of Zion; *they wag their head behind you—the people who are in Jerusalem*. 37.23 Whom have you mocked and *against whom have you exalted yourself?* Before whom have you raised your voice and haughtily lifted your eyes? *And you have spoken sayings that are not fitting before* the Holy One of Israel! 37.24 By your servants you have mocked *the people of the LORD*, and you have said, With my many chariots I have gone up to *the stronghold of their fortresses and I will also seize the house of their sanctuaries*; I will kill the best of their mighty men, their choicest rulers; I will suppress their strong city and destroy their many armies. 37.25 I was digging cisterns and drinking water, and I trampled with the soles of the feet of the people of my people all the waters of the deep streams. 37.26 Have you not heard what I did long ago to *Pharaoh king of Egypt because he ruled over them?* Against you also the prophets of Israel prophesied, and you did not repent. This was foreseen for you before me from days of old to do to you, and I also planned it. Now I will bring it to

Notes

37:1–37:38 Although there are few substantive additions in the present chapter, two of them call for comment. First of all, the phrase "*there is none besides you*" (vv. 16, 20) expresses the vital monotheism of the meturgeman (cf. Chilton [1982] 6, 7); it is the confession of a minority, a "*tribe*" (v. 10, cf. 38:9) or a "*congregation*" (v. 22). It may be that the post-nationalistic perspective of the Amoraic interpreter is reflected here, although there is obviously too little information to make such a judgment very firmly based. The reference to "*Curdistan*" (v. 38), however, perhaps makes the suggestion seem a bit more probable. Second, the phrase, "*the house of their sanctuaries*" (v. 24), appears here to be associated with the Temple (cf. 5:5). Unquestionably, the reference to "*Lebanon*" in the MT was the point of departure for the interpretation (cf. 29:17 in the Notes), and it seems natural to take the reference to be to Jerusalem in context. In other words, the meturgeman — of whatever period — remains true to the historical perspective of the book of Isaiah, although his own experience and hopes (cf. v. 26) occasionally shine through.

pass, and *this has been for stumbling to you, because fortified cities have been before you as a tumult of waves that subside*, 37.27 while their inhabitants, *their force shorn, are shattered and confounded, and have become like plants of the fields and like tender grass, and like grass on the housetops which is singed before it comes to be ears*. 37.28 *There is disclosed before me your sitting down in counsel and your going out to wage war and your coming in to the land of Israel, and there is disclosed that you rage before me*. 37.29 Because you have raged against my *Memra* and your tumult has come up *before me*, I will put *chains* in your *cheeks* and *a bridle* in your lips, and I will turn you back on the way by which you came.' 37.30 And this will be the sign for you: *in this year eat free growths, and in the second year growth of free growths; then in the third year sow and reap and plant vineyards and eat their fruit*. 37.31 And the *delivered* of the house of Judah will continue *and will be left as a tree which sends its roots downward, and raises its top upward*; 37.32 for out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant of the righteous, and out of the Mount of Zion a survival of those who uphold the law. *By the Memra of the LORD of hosts this will be accomplished*. 37.33 Therefore thus says the LORD concerning the king of Assyria: He shall not come into this city, or shoot an arrow there, or come before it with shields, or cast up a siege mound against it. 37.34 By the way that he came, by the same he shall return, and he shall not come into this city, says the LORD. 37.35 For I will defend this city to save it for my *Memra's* sake and for the sake of David my servant." 37.36 And the angel of the LORD went forth, and *killed* a hundred and

Apparatus

37:30 "vineyards" is actually not present in B.M. 2211 or Ms. Jews' College (cf. v. 9 in the Apparatus). But all of the other extant witnesses—including B.M. 1474—accept the reading. Stenning, p. 125, prefers the variant, which provides "their" with an antecedent. Stenning's judgment is here preferred to Sperber's (p. 75).

37:31 "will continue" renders both texts, although the Targumic form is plural, rather than singular (in agreement with the innovative "delivered").

"will be left" represents an imperfect formation in the Tg which renders a participle in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 500).

37:38 "Curdistan" (*qrwdw*) simply provides the explanation of "Ararat" in the MT (cf. Levy II, p. 386; Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 118, and—in respect of Armenia—Pauli [1871] 125, 126 n. 13).

38:1 "command" renders both texts (cf. Young II, p. 507). B.M. 2211 does not attest the additional phrase, but the other extant witnesses do.

38:8 "shadow" becomes "good" in B.M. 2211, but all the other extant witnesses attest the more plausible reading. "steps" is a possible rendering of the MT; the point seems to be that the steps mark the hours.

38:11 "cease" may derive from a play on words, with *hdl* in the MT taken as "cessation" (BDB, p. 293, cf. *hld* as "world", BDB, p. 317, and Winton Thomas, p. 58). Notably, "length" is a possible reading of *hld* (cf. BDB, p. 317). It would seem quite clear that the meturgeman is playing upon the meanings of *hld/hdl*, which may already be a feature of the Hebrew text (cf. Young II, p. 519 n. 18).

"of truth" is replaced by "holy" in B.M. 1474, the Second Rabbinic Bible, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews' College. But the First Rabbinic Bible shows that the less expected reading of B.M. 2211 is to be preferred.

38:12 "river" (*nhl*) becomes "loom" (*nwl*) in B.M. 1474 and the Second Rabbinic Bible. The desire to accommodate to the MT is evident. Cf. also "of weavers" (*grd'yn*) in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles and the Antwerp Polyglot, instead of "of banks" (*gydwdyn*, here rendered "banked"). The Targumic imagery is of life flowing away quickly.

38:14 "horse" is a possible reading of the MT (cf. BDB, p. 692), and is apparently the meaning of the Tg (cf. Jastrow II, p. 967 *pace* Levy II, p. 151, and Dalman, p. 286 [although he is less certain]). B.M. 1474 reads "bird" (cf. Winton Thomas, p. 59).

eighty-five thousands in the camps of the Assyrians; and when men arose early in the morning, behold, these were all dead bodies. 37.37 Then Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh. 37.38 And as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his *idol*, Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons, *killed* him with *the* sword, and escaped to the land of *Curdistan*. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.

CHAPTER 38

38.1 In those days Hezekiah was sick and at the point of death. And Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz came to him and said to him, “Thus says the LORD: command *concerning the men of* your house; for you shall die, you shall not recover *from your illness*.” 38.2 Then Hezekiah turned his face to the wall of *the sanctuary*, and prayed before the LORD, 38.3 and said, “*Attend, O LORD, to my request*, remember now how I served *before* you in truth and with a whole heart, and have done *what is correct before you*.” And Hezekiah wept bitterly. 38.4 Then the word of *prophecy* from the LORD was *with* Isaiah: 38.5 “Go and say to Hezekiah, Thus says the LORD, the God of David your father, your prayer *is heard before me*, your tears *are disclosed before me*; behold, I will add fifteen years to your life. 38.6 I will deliver you and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria, and defend this city. 38.7 And this is the sign to you from the LORD that the LORD will do the thing that he has promised: 38.8 Behold, I will make the shadow cast by the declining sun on the *stone hours*, on the steps of Ahaz, turn back ten *hours*.” So the sun turned back ten *hours* by *the marking of the stone hours* where it had declined. 38.9 A writing of *thanksgiving for the wonder that was done* for Hezekiah king of *the tribe of the house of Judah*, when he was sick and *was healed* of his sickness. 38.10 I thought, In the *sorrow* of my days I must depart; at the gates of Sheol *because of my remembrance for good (time) is added to* my years. 38.11 I said, I shall not *again be seen before the Fearful One*, the LORD in the land of *the Shekhinah's house where there is length of the living*; I shall serve *before him* no more in *the sanctuary whence joy is about to come forth to all* the inhabitants of the earth; *my dwelling will cease, so as not to dwell in Jerusalem, the city of truth*. 38.12 *From the sons of my generation my days are plucked up and cut off* and exiled from me, *they are folded like a shepherd's tent*; my life *is rolled up like a banked river*; I am exiled from the *glory of my kingdom*; my days and my nights *are brought* to an end. 38.13 I roared until the morning; like the lion which roars and breaks all the bones of a beast, so all my bones *are broken from sorrow*; my days and my nights *are brought* to an end. 38.14 Like the horse which is seized and whinnies, so I whinny and moan like a

Notes

38:1-38:22 Hezekiah's prayer is linked very strongly with “*the sanctuary*” (v. 2), and his health is connected both to “*the Shekhinah's house*” (v. 11) and the Shekhinah as “*in the heavens of the height*” (v. 14). Indeed, his healing is

dove. *I lift up my eyes that liberation might come to me from the One whose Shekhinah is in the heavens of the height; the LORD accepted my prayer, performed my request.* 38.15 *But what praise can I speak and say before him? For he himself has increased benefits in dealing with me. How can I serve and fulfill before him all the years which he has added to my life, rescuing my soul from bitterness?* 38.16 *O LORD, concerning all the dead you promised to make (them) alive, and before all of these you made alive my spirit, made me alive and upheld me.* 38.17 *Lo, for those who perform the law there is the great peace before you; but you make bitterness come to the wicked, therefore when I knew the day of my death I cast my tears in prayer before you. There was great bitterness to me and you were pleased with my life so as not to destroy my soul, for you have rejected all my sins before you.* 38.18 *For those who are in Sheol do not give thanks before you, the dead do not praise you; those who go down to the pit of the place of perdition do not hope for your deliverance.* 38.19 *The living, the living, he will give thanks before you, as I [do] this day; fathers will make known to their children your might, and give thanks, saying, All these things are truth.* 38.20 *The LORD promised to save us and we will play the music of his praise all the days of our life at the sanctuary of the LORD.* 38.21 *Now Isaiah had said, "Let them take a cake of figs, and apply it to the inflammation, and he will be healed."* 38.22 *Hezekiah also said, "What is the sign that I shall go up to the sanctuary of the LORD?"*

CHAPTER 39

39.1 At that time Merodachbaladan the son of Baladan, *the king of Babylon, sent letters and presents to Hezekiah when he heard that he had been sick and had been healed.* 39.2 And Hezekiah welcomed them; and he showed them his treasure house,

Apparatus

38:16 “concerning” renders the same preposition (‘ל) which is rendered “by” in the RSV.

38:17 “great” is actually found in the Tg. The RSV translators supply the term in order to render the repetition of “bitterness” in the MT (cf. Young II, p. 525 n. 28).

38:21 “inflammation” renders both texts (cf. BDB, p. 1006). It is the reading of all the Targumic witness except B.M. 2211, which reads “letter” (שְׁלֵטָה for שְׁנָה). In this case, the *lectio difficilior* appears to be a *lectio impossibilis* (cf. also 37:9, 30; 38:8 in this witness).

39:7 “whom you will beget” renders both texts (cf. Young II, p. 532).

40:1 “consolations” in Aramaic is a noun which is related to the verbal form “comfort”.

40:3 “of one who” is also the construction of the LXX (cf. Ziegler, p. 266).

40:6 “of one who says” is also the rendering of the LXX (cf. above and Ziegler, p. 267). “he” is actually the reading of the MT (cf. Winton Thomas, p. 60, and Young III, p. 32). But the LXX attests the first person form, and is followed by the RSV. The present, participial idiom corresponds partially to the usage of the phrase *apokritheis eipen* in the New Testament, which is found very frequently, sometimes with different wording and in different tenses.

40:9 “herald good tidings”: in each case, the feminine singular participle of the MT is altered to a masculine plural form in the Tg. The basic meaning of the Aramaic verb is “announce” (as good news, cf. 14:32; 15:5; 33:7), particularly in the context of military victory.

40:10 “*Memra*” here has the sense “command,” which it normally does in the absolute.

the silver, the gold, the spices, the precious oil, his whole armoury, all that was found in his treasures. There was nothing in his house or in all *the land of* his realm Hezekiah did not show them. 39.3 Then Isaiah the prophet came to King Hezekiah, and said to him, “What did these men say? And whence did they come to you?” Hezekiah said, “They have come to me from a far country, from Babylon.” 39.4 He said, “What have they seen in your house?” Hezekiah answered, “They have seen all that is in my house; there is nothing in my treasures that I did not show them. 39.5 Then Isaiah said to Hezekiah, “*Listen to* the word of the LORD of hosts: 39.6 Behold, *the* days are coming when all that is in your house shall be carried away, and that which your fathers have stored up till this day *shall be brought* to Babylon; nothing shall be left, says the LORD. 39.7 And some of your sons, who will go forth from you, whom you will beget, shall be taken away; and they shall be *princes* in the palace of the king of Babylon.” 39.8 Then Hezekiah said to Isaiah, “The word of the LORD which you have spoken is *correct*.” For he thought, “There will be peace and truth in my days.”

CHAPTER 40

40.1 *Prophets, prophesy consolations to* my people, says your God. 40.2 Speak to the heart of Jerusalem and *prophesy* to her that *she is about to be filled with people of her exiles*, that her *sins* have been *forgiven her*, that she has taken *a cup of consolations before the LORD as if she suffered two for one* for all her sins. 40.3 A voice of one who cries: “In the wilderness clear the way *before the people* of the LORD, *level* in the desert highways *before the congregation* of our God. 40.4 All *the valleys* shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be made low; the uneven ground shall become a plain and *a banked place* a vale. 40.5 And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all *the sons of flesh* shall see it together, for *by the Memra of the LORD it is so decreed*.” 40.6 A voice of one who says, “*Prophesy!*” And he *answered and said*, “What shall I *prophesy?*” All *the wicked are as the grass*, and all *their strength* like the *chaff* of the field. 40.7 *The grass withers, its flower fades*, for the spirit from the LORD blows upon it; surely *the wicked among the people are reckoned as the grass*. 40.8 *The wicked dies, his conceptions perish*; but the word of our God stands for ever. 40.9 Get you up to a high mountain, *prophets who herald good tidings to Zion*; lift up your voice with *force*, *you who herald good tidings to Jerusalem*, lift up, fear not; say to the cities of the house of Judah, “*The kingdom of your God is revealed!*” 40.10 Behold,

Notes

presented as a foretaste of the resurrection (v. 16, cf. 1 Corinthians 15:23), which is promised “*those who perform the law*” (v. 17).

39:1-39:8 The addition to v. 6 might be held to reflect some living memory of removal to Babylon. The innovative “*princes*” (v. 7) suggests that some Jews pursued courtly careers there. Such a statement is consistent with the events of the sixth century B.C., but also with the status of certain Jewish leaders in Sassanid Babylon (cf. Neusner [IV, 1969] 119f.).

40:1-40:31 The promise of “*consolations*” is to be voiced by prophets (vv. 1, 6, 9, 13), and explicitly involves a return from exile (v. 2). Under the category of the “*kingdom*” (v. 9), defined as God’s revelation in “*strength*” (v. 10), both

the *LORD God is revealed with strength, and the strength of his mighty arm rules before him; behold, the reward of those who perform his Memra is with him, all those whose deeds are disclosed before him.* 40.11 *Like the shepherd who feeds his flock, he gathers lambs in his arm, he carries tender ones in his bosom, and leads the nursing ewes gently.* 40.12 *Who says these things? One who lives, speaks and acts, before whom all the waters of the world are reckoned as the drop in the hollow of a hand and the length of the heavens as if with the span established, the dust of the earth as if measured in a measure and the mountains as if indeed weighed and the hills, behold, just as in the balance.* 40.13 *Who established the holy spirit in the mouth of all the prophets, is it not the LORD? And to the righteous who perform his Memra he makes known the words of his pleasure.* 40.14 *Those who besought before him he caused to apprehend wisdom and taught them the path of judgment and gave their sons the law and showed the way of understanding to their sons' sons.* 40.15 *Behold, the peoples are like the drop from a bucket, and are accounted like dust on the scales; behold, the islands are like the fine dust which flies.* 40.16 *The trees of Lebanon will not supply sufficient (wood) for burning, nor are the beasts that are in it enough for a burnt offering.* 40.17 *All the peoples, their deeds are as nothing; they are accounted extirpation and destruction before him.* 40.18 *Why are you planning to contend before God, or what likeness do you prepare before him?* 40.19 *Behold, the image! The workman makes it, and the smith overlays it with gold, and the smith attaches silver chains to it.* 40.20 *He cuts down a laurel, he chooses the wood that rot does not attack; he seeks out a skilful craftsman to set up an image that will not move.* 40.21 *Have you not known? Have you not heard? Has not the fact of crea-*

Apparatus

40:12 “established” (*mtqny*) to some extent derives from a word play on “marked off” (*tkn*) in the MT.
 “measured”: the Aramaic passive (*'ytkl*) is derived from the root cognate with the Hebrew active usage (*kl*: cf. BDB, p. 465), but the meaning of the word is distinctive (cf. 27:8 and Levy I, p. 357).
 “indeed” in the present translation represents the infinitive usage of the verb “weigh”, which is apparently how the meturgeman construed *bpls* in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 813). The latter term is in any case not the equivalent of “measure” (pace van Zijl, p. 103).

40:13 “established”: cf. the previous verse.
 “Memra”: cf. 40:10.

40:15 “dust” is a necessarily conjectural rendering of the Aramaic term (cf. Stenning, p. 133).

40:18 “why” (literally, “for what”) is the reading of the B.M. 2211, B.M. 1470, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College. The other extant witnesses agree with the MT.
 “are you planning” is the particiiliar form of the verb which may also be rendered “liken” (cf. Levy I, p. 179 and the MT).

40:21 “creation” [*bryšyt*] is arrived at by word play on *rš*, taking it as *ršyt* (“beginning”, in the work of creation, cf. BDB, p. 912).

40:22 “his Shekhinah” becomes “the Shekhinah” in all of the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211 and B.M. 1470.

40:25 “compare” renders the cognate root in the MT, but the person, form, and sense of the Tg are innovative (cf. 46:5 in the MT for a truer parallel).

41:3 “a forced march...feet” renders the syntax of both texts. More literally, the rendering might be, “a forced path in his feet did not enter”. The idiom seems to mean that his feet will not (MT) or did not (Tg) feel the strain of the journey.

41:4 “acts” derives from the verb rendered “(has) done” in the RSV.
 “from creation” (*mbryšyt*) is here developed from *ršwn* (RSV: “the first”) in the MT (cf. 40:21).

tion's orders been told you from the beginning? *Will you not understand, so as to fear before him who created the foundations of the earth?* 40.22 It is he who makes the Shekhinah of his glory dwell in the strong height, and all the inhabitants of the earth are reckoned before him like grasshoppers; who stretches out the heavens like a trifle and spreads them like a tent of glory for his Shekhinah's house; 40.23 who hands over rulers to weakness, and makes the judges of the earth as nothing. 40.24 Although they grow, although they increase, although their sons are exalted in the earth, he sends his anger among them, and they are ashamed and his Memra, as the whirlwind the chaff, will scatter them. 40.25 Whom then will you liken before me, and compare (me): says the Holy One. 40.26 Lift up your eyes to the height and see, so as to fear before him who created these, who brings out the forces of heaven by number, calling to all of them by their names; by an abundance of prodigies and because he is strong in force not one from its order is missing. 40.27 Why will you say, O Jacob, and speak, O Israel, "My way is hid before the LORD, and my judgment will pass over before my God"? 40.28 Have you not known? Have you not heard? The LORD is the everlasting God who created the foundations of the earth, not by toil and not by labour, his understanding is endless. 40.29 He gives wisdom to the righteous who faint for the words of his law and to those without strength he increases possessions. 40.30 Even sinful youths shall faint and be weary, and the wicked young men shall utterly stumble; 40.31 but they who wait for the salvation of the LORD shall be gathered from among their exiles, and they shall increase force and be renewed in their youth like a feather that mounts up on eagles' wings, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not be faint.

CHAPTER 41

41.1 Give ear to my Memra, O islands; let kingdoms increase (their) force; let them approach, then let them speak; let us together draw near for judgment. 41.2 Who brought Abraham openly from the east, a select one of righteousness in truth? He brought him to his place, handed over peoples before him and shattered kings; he cast the slain like dust before his sword, he pursued them like chaff before his bow. 41.3 He pursued them and passed on safely; a forced march did not tire his feet. 41.4 Who says these things? One who lives, speaks and acts, the One ordering the generations from the beginning. I, the LORD, created the world from creation, even the ages of the ages are mine, and besides me none is God. 41.5 The islands have seen and will be afraid, those at the ends of the earth will tremble; they will draw near and come. 41.6 Everyone will help his neighbour, and will say to his brother, "Take courage!" 41.7 Shall they not be ashamed of their work, which the craftsman strengthens with the smith, and he who

Notes

punishment (vv. 7, 8) and reward (v. 10) are prophesied. The promise to "the righteous" (v. 13) results in a notably positive rendering of v. 14, and is followed by an equally innovative reference to the heavenly Shekhinah in v. 22.

41:1—41:29 "Abraham" (v. 2) is presented as a paradigm of Israel: as for him, so for his people enemies are routed (vv. 2, 3, 5, 7). In both cases, victory is assured from the one who is uniquely God "from creation" (v. 4, cf. 37:16, 20). The idea of God's friendship with Abraham as the model of Israel's relationship with God is already developed in

strikes with the hammer with him who beats with the mallet, then says of the soldering, "It is straight", and he fastens it with nails so that it cannot be moved? 41.8 But you, Israel, my servant Jacob in whom I am pleased, the seed of Abraham, my friend; 41.9 you whom I brought near from the families of the earth, and chose from the kingdoms, and said to you, "You are my servant, I am pleased with you and I will not cast you off"; 41.10 fear not, for my Memra is your help, be not shattered, for I am your God; I will strengthen you, I will help you, I will grasp you with the right hand of my truth. 41.11 Behold, all the Gentiles who were stirred up against you shall be put to shame and confounded; the men of your judgment shall be as nothing and shall perish. 41.12 You shall seek for the men of your contention, but you shall not find them; men who were stirred up to make war with you shall be as nothing at all. 41.13 For I, the LORD your God, strengthen your right hand; it is I who says to you, "Fear not, my Memra is your help." 41.14 Fear not, tribe of the house of Jacob, families of the house of Israel! My Memra is your help, says the LORD; your redeemer is the Holy One of Israel. 41.15 Behold, I make you a strong threshing sledge, new, full of points; you shall kill the Gentiles and destroy [them], and you shall make the kingdoms like the chaff. 41.16 You shall winnow them, and a wind shall carry them away, and his Memra, as the whirlwind the chaff, shall scatter them. And you shall rejoice in the Memra of the LORD; in the Holy One of Israel you shall glory. 41.17 When the poor and the needy desire teaching as a thirsty person [desires] water and do not find it, and their spirit faints with affliction, I the LORD will accept their prayer, I the God of Israel will not forsake them. 41.18 I will bring their exiles near from among the Gentiles and lead them in a correct way and open to them rivers on bare heights and springs in the midst of deserts; I will make the wilderness pools of water and the land of the thirsty place springs of water. 41.19 I will put in the wilderness cedars, acacias, myrtles, olive trees; I

Apparatus

41:11 "the men of your judgment" is a collective, which renders, "the men of your strife" in the MT (RSV: "those who strive against you").

41:12 See the syntactical point above.

41:14 "your help": as in v. 13, a verbal clause is rendered by a nominal one, but the pronoun here is in the plural, corresponding to this verse as a whole in the Tg.

41:18 "lead": B.M. 2211 reads "scatter", the result of reversing the first two letters of the root (cf. Sperber, p. 83; Stenning, p. 139). The other witnesses suggest that the reading is quite mistaken.

41:21 "fitting arguments": cf. "fitments" in 23:13.

41:22 "draw near" is also the reading of the LXX, and involves a small change in the Hebrew (cf. Winton Thomas, p. 64). In this instance, the MT is perhaps defective.

41:25 "east" is a possible rendering of the term translated "rising" in the RSV (cf. BDB, pp. 280, 281).

"by" represents the same preposition (*b*) translated "on" in the RSV.

"come" (on the second occasion): cf. the RSV margin.

41:27 "first": cf. the RSV margin.

42:1 "servant": "the Messiah" is added in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews' College.

42:3 "for" renders a preposition which is also in the MT.

"his" is replaced by "the" in the Second Rabbinic Bible, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Bodleian Ms. 2617. Lagarde and Stenning (cf. Stenning, p. 141) accept the reading, but it seems an obvious accommodation to the MT.

42:5 "the everlasting God": cf. 40:28.

"breath" is in the absolute state in B.M. 1470, 1474 and Reuchlinianus. The same witnesses, as well as the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles and the Antwerp Polyglot, omit the definite article before "spirit". Both omissions represent accommodation to the MT.

will *make great* in the desert cypresses, planes, and pines together; 41.20 that they may see and know, may set *my fear in their heart* and understand together that *the might* of the LORD has done this, the Holy One of Israel has created it. 41.21 Set forth your cause, says the LORD; bring your *fitting arguments*, says the king of Jacob. 41.22 Let them *draw near*, and tell us what is to happen *to us*. Tell [us] the former things, what they are, that we may consider [them], and know their outcome; or *announce* to us the things *about* to come. 41.23 Tell [us] what is to come at *the end*, that we may know *whether there is worth in the idols* you are *serving*, *whether they are able to do good or do harm*, that we may *consider* and *judge* together. 41.24 Behold, you are nothing, and your works *are naught*; an abomination is *that with which you are pleased* among yourselves. 41.25 I will bring a king openly who is strong as the north wind, and he will come as the going forth of the sun in its might from the east, and I will make him mighty by my name: he will come and trample the rulers of the Gentiles as those who trample the dust, as the potter who kneads the clay. 41.26 Who declared it from the beginning that we might know, and beforehand, that we might say, “*It is true*”? There is none who declared it, none who *announced*, none who heard your words. 41.27 *The words of consolation which the prophets prophesied from the first to Zion*, behold *they come [to pass]*, and I will give to Jerusalem a herald of good tidings. 41.28 *But it is disclosed before me that there is no one who has good deeds*; among these there is no counsellor. I asked them, *if only they would give an answer!* 41.29 Behold, they are all *nothing*; their works are *naught*; their *conceptions* are *spoil and breaking*.

CHAPTER 42

42.1 Behold my servant, I will bring him *near*, my chosen in whom my *Memra is pleased*; I will put my *Holy Spirit* upon him, he will reveal *my judgment* to the *peoples*. 42.2 He will not cry or *call* or *lift up* his voice outside. 42.3 *The poor who are like a bruised reed he will not break, and the needy who are like a dimly burning wick he will not quench*; he will bring forth *judgment* for his truth. 42.4 He will not *tire* or *be weary* till he has established *judgment* in the earth; and *islands* wait for his law. 42.5 Thus says the *everlasting* God, the LORD, who created the heavens and stretched them out, *founded* the earth and its *residents*, gives breath to the people upon it and spirit to those who walk in it: 42.6 “I am the LORD, I have *exalted* you in *truth*, I have taken you by the hand and *will establish* you and give you as a covenant to people, a light to the *peoples*, 42.7 to open the eyes of *the house of Israel* who are as blind to the law, to

Notes

chapter 5 of the Tg, and it is drawn upon here (vv. 8-10) as an assurance that “*the Gentiles*” will be defeated (vv. 11, 12). In v. 15, overt action against “*the Gentiles*” is predicted, which contrasts with 32:9-20, the work of the Amoraic meturgeman (cf. the Notes). (It may also be of note that the plural “*tribes*” is used in v. 14, while the apparently Amoraic 37:10 [cf. the Notes] employs the singular.) Nonetheless, the military action of Israel is consummated by God himself (v. 16). Indeed, their return from exile is associated with their desire for “*teaching*” (vv. 17, 18), not simply their military prowess (cf. vv. 15, 16). The reference to the “*king*” of the north (v. 25) perhaps involves a figure from Daniel 11; he is a transitional agent of punishment, and could have been associated with the Romans, the Parthians, or the Sassanids by hearers and readers of the Tg in different periods.

42:1-42:7 Although “servant” language has been used in respect of Israel (41:8), the present usage appears messianic (v. 1, cf. the Apparatus). The servant is a figure of judgment (vv. 1, 3, 4), caring for the righteous “*poor*” and “*needy*” (v. 3, cf. 41:17 and, in a messianic context, 11:4); he is to release exiles by breaking the Gentile dominion (v. 7, cf.

bring out *their exiles, who resemble* prisoners, from *among the Gentiles, to deliver from the slavery of the kingdoms those who are jailed as prisoners of darkness.*

42.8 I am the LORD, that is my name; my glory—that I am revealed upon you—I will give to no other people, nor my praise to those who serve images. 42.9 Behold, the former things have come to pass, and new things I now declare; before they come I will announce to you. 42.10 Sing before the LORD a new song, speak of his praise from the end of the earth, those who go down to the sea and all that fills it, islands and their inhabitants! 42.11 Let the desert and the cities that dwell in it praise, let open cities inhabit the desert of the Arabians; let the dead sing for joy when they come forth from their tombs, from the top of the mountains let them lift up their voice. 42.12 Let them give glory before the LORD, and declare his praise in the islands. 42.13 The LORD is revealed to do prodigies, to do prodigies he is revealed in anger, in speech, even with quaking, he is revealed in his might against his foes. 42.14 For a long time I have given them respite, that if they repented to the law...but they did not repent! Like pangs upon a woman in travail my judgment will be revealed upon them, they will be devastated and come to an end together. 42.15 I will lay waste mountains and hills, and dry up all their herbage; I will turn their rivers into islands, and dry up pools. 42.16 And I will lead those who are as blind in a way that they do not know, in paths that they have not learned I will guide them. I will turn darkness before them into light, and uneven ground into a plain. These are the things I will do, and I will not forsake them. 42.17 They shall be turned back and utterly put to shame who serve images, who say to a cast image, “You are our idols.” 42.18 You wicked

Apparatus

42:10 “*speak of*” is in form a participle, here used as an imperative (cf. Daube [1947] for the usage in 1 Peter and *Rabbinica*).

42:11 “*praise*” is the same verb rendered “sing” in the previous verse.

“*sing for joy*”: cf. above.

“*tombs*”: cf. 14:18.

“*top*” becomes plural in B.M. 1470, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, Ms. Jews’ College, and Reuchlinianus.

42:13 “*prodigies*” (*gbwrn*) is related etymologically to “mighty man” (*gbwr*) in the MT.

42:16 “I will lead”: from this point the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles read “the house of Israel who resemble...”, and take up from “blind”.

42:19 “*be repaid*”: cf. 3:10. The verb *šlm* is also used in the MT, as a passive participle (RSV: “my dedicated one”). (Cf. Winton Thomas, p. 66 for suppositions concerning the pronominal suffix and the last letter of the root, neither of which is supported by the Tg).

42:20 “You” and “do”: the readings do not differ from the MT (cf. the RSV margin and Young III, p. 131), but the plural number of the Tg is innovative here.

“*do not observe*”: the verb in the Tg is second person plural (cf. the misprint in Sperber, p. 86).

42:21 “*in order to justify*”: for the syntax of this phrase see 30:1; 65:8. On the basis of a reading in Reuchlinianus, Stenning (p. 142) suggests, “because of Israel’s righteousness”.

“*strengthen*” in B.M. 2211 appears in the same syntax as at 42:6 (where it is rendered as “take”). But altered syntax is used in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Ms. Jews’ College, and Reuchlinianus. B.M. 1474 also employs the altered syntax, and inserts “and uphold” after “strengthen”.

42:22 “*young men*” is the reading of both texts. “*In holes*” (so the RSV) is the result of altering the MT in the direction of the LXX (cf. Ziegler, p. 280, and Winton Thomas, p. 66).

“*covered*” (*thpy'w*) proceeds from a word play on the Hebrew text (*hph*).

who are as deaf, have you no ears? Hear! And you sinners who are as blind, have you no eyes? Consider and see! 42.19 If the wicked repent, will they not be called my servant, even the sinners, against whom I sent my prophets? But the wicked are about to be repaid the retribution of their sins, except that if they repent they will be called the servants of the LORD. 42.20 You see many things, but do not observe them; your ears are open, but you do not listen to teaching. 42.21 The LORD is pleased in order to justify Israel, he will magnify those who perform his law and strengthen them. 42.22 But this is a people plundered and robbed, young men are all of them covered with shame and their confinement is in prisons; they have become booty with none to rescue, spoil with none to say, "Restore!" 42.23 Who among you will give ear to this, will listen and apprehend to the end? 42.24 Who handed over Jacob for booty, and Israel to spoilers? Was it not the LORD, before whom they sinned and did not wish to walk in ways that were correct before him and did not listen to the teaching of his law? 42.25 So he poured out upon him the heat of his anger and the strength of his war-makers he brought upon them; they killed among them, round about them, but they did not understand; they ruled them, but they did not take his fear to heart.

Notes

10:27; 14:29; 16:1), and teach Israel the law (v. 7, cf. chapter 53). (A similar usage of the imagery of blindness [42:16] appears at 35:5. At Luke 4:18, 19, there is a confused citation, primarily based on Is. 61:1, 2, but perhaps also on this verse cf. Chilton [1979] 123-177. It is interesting that precisely those elements which are emphasized in Jesus' citation [the poor, the blind, and prisoners] are also treated specially in Tg Is. 42:3, 7.)

42:8-42:25 For the meturgeman (v. 11), "the Arabians" are naturally associated with "the desert," not hegemony (cf. 21:13-17 in the Notes). More importantly, we find in the same verse an express reference to the resurrection, and in a context which vv. 1-7 establish as messianic. The reference to "prodigies" (v. 13), to the "respite" given the wicked (v. 14, cf. 26:10), and the imagery of travail (v. 14, cf. 21:3), are all redolent of an eschatological perspective. In v. 19, the force of this point of view is harnessed to make one final appeal to "the wicked". We seem to be some distance from the Amoraic meturgeman, who assumed the penitence of some (cf. 33:10-33:24 in the Notes); here, repentance is urgently demanded, not presupposed.

CHAPTER 43

43.1 But now thus says the LORD, he who created you, O Jacob, he who *established* you, O Israel: “Fear not, for I have redeemed you, I have *exalted* you by your name, you are mine. 43.2 *At the first* when you passed through the *reed sea*, my *Memra* was *your help*; *Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who were as numerous as* the waters of the river, *did not prevail against you; the second time also*, when you will walk *among the peoples who are as strong as fire, they shall not prevail against you*, and *kingdoms which are as powerful as flame* shall not *destroy* you. 43.3 For I am the LORD your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Saviour. I give Egypt as your ransom, Ethiopia and Seba in exchange for you. 43.4 Because you are *cherished before me*, you are glorified, and I have *compassion on you*, and I *hand over the peoples* in exchange for you, *the kingdoms* instead of your life. 43.5 Fear not, for my *Memra is your help*; I will bring your *sons* from the east, and from the west I will *bring near your exiles*. 43.6 I will say to the north, *Bring*, and to the south, Do not withhold; bring my sons from afar, and *the exiles of my people* from the ends of the earth, 43.7 *all this because of your fathers, upon whom my name is called*, whom I created for my glory. I *established their exiles* and made *wonders for them*.” 43.8 He brought *the people from Egypt* who are *as blind, yet have eyes, who are as deaf, yet have ears!* 43.9 *Let all the peoples* gather together, and *kingdoms draw near*. Who among them can declare this? Let them *announce the* former things *to us*, bring their witnesses to justify them, and let them hear and say, It is true. 43.10 “You are witnesses *before me*,” says the LORD, “and my servant *the Messiah with whom I am pleased*, that you might know and believe *before me* and understand that I am He. *I am he that was from the beginning, even the ages of the ages*

Apparatus

43:2 “passed”: the imperfect tense is employed in the MT.

“reed sea” corresponds to the Hebrew designation of what is commonly known in English as the “Red Sea”. “Reed Sea” seems the preferable designation (cf. BDB, p. 693), and some tributary of the Red Sea may be in mind.

“shall not prevail”: B.M. 2211 attests the perfect form here, but B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus, the Second Rabbinic Bible, and the Antwerp Polyglot attest the imperfect. In view of the perspective of this passage, and normal Targumic usage, the reading of B.M. 2211 is likely to be an error (so Stenning, p. 145, and van Zijl, p. 76, and against Sperber, p. 87). The problem is side-stepped in the First Rabbinic Bible and Ms. Jews’ College: the participle is used. Throughout this verse, the second person usage of the Tg is plural.

43:5 “bring”: B.M. 1474 adds “before you”.

43:6 “south”: Reuchlinianus reads “west”.

43:7 “fathers”: the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Ms. Jews’ College, and Reuchlinianus add “the righteous”.

43:9 “Let” is innovative in the Tg, as the perfect form of the verb is used in the MT (cf. Young III, pp. 146-148).

43:12 “stranger” represents both texts (cf. Young III, p. 147).

“and I am God,” represents both texts; the break in the RSV does not correspond to the printed MT (cf. Young III, p. 147).

43:14 “you were exiled”: the First Rabbinic Bible reads “I was exiled”. But in agreement with the reading attested by the majority, Reuchlinianus and Ms. Jews’ College have “all of you”, instead of “all of them”. In this case, the First Rabbinic Bible seems to be isolated in reflecting what was a rabbinic interpretation of the verse (cf. the Notes).

“even...in the ships of their praise” renders both texts (cf. the RSV margin and Young III, p. 151).

are mine, and there is no God besides me. 43.11 *I, I am the LORD, and besides me there is no saviour.* 43.12 *I declared to Abraham your father what was about to come, I saved you from Egypt, just as I swore to him between the pieces, I proclaimed to you the teaching of my law from Sinai, when you were present and there was no stranger among you; and you are witnesses before me,*" says the LORD, "and I am God, 43.13 and also from *eternity* I am He; there is none who can deliver from my hand; I will do *it* and *I will not reverse it.*" 43.14 Thus says the LORD, your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: "For your *sins' sake you were exiled to Babylon* and I have brought down all of them *with rudders*, even the Chaldeans in the ships of their praise. 43.15 I am the

Notes

43:1–43:28 The reassurance to Israel is framed as a promise of a new exodus (vv. 2, 8, 12), and the use of this typology is different from that in 27:1. The reason for this difference is that Babylon, not Rome, is at issue in the present context (v. 14, cf. 44:27). Notably, the Messiah appears here as a witness (v. 10), as if he already existed in personal terms. The connection between "servant" and "branch" (*smh*, cf. Tg Is. 4:2 in comparison with the MT) is already made in Zechariah 3:8, but the idea of the Messiah's personal pre-existence seems to be an Amoraic development (cf. Moore [II; 1946] 349 and Chilton [1982] 90, 91). In that reference is also made to the Messiah in chapter 42, there is also literary justification for invoking him as a witness here, but only on the supposition that he is already active, and not purely an eschatological figure. The reference to the oath to Abraham "*between the pieces*" (v. 12) evidently refers to Genesis 15:17, and belongs to the generally Targumic understanding of Abraham as a figure of promise. (Curiously, there is no mention of the Aqedah here, as in Tg Micah 7:20, cf. Chilton [1982] 47, 48.) The specific statement, "for your *sins' sake you were exiled to Babylon*" (v. 14) is striking for several reasons. It presupposes that some form of Babylonian exile has taken place, and speaks of the exile in a way which is unusual in two respects. Firstly, "*sins*" generally, rather than cultic and legal misdeeds, are the cause of the exile, while normally the meturgeman is more specific. Secondly, the passive use of the verb *gl* is not commonly found with this meaning in the Tg. The association between the Targumic interpretation of 43:14 and Amoraic theology is indicated quite clearly by the variant reading "I was sent" (cf. the Apparatus): *Pesiqta Rabbati* 30.2 represents the view among the Amoraim, developed in respect of this passage from Isaiah, that God sent himself to Babylon with his people. (For further evidence, and discussion, cf. Chilton [1982] 30-33.) The variant is not here accepted as the original reading, but it does tend to confirm the Babylonian provenience of the present interpretation. The

LORD, your Holy One, the creator of Israel, your King." 43.16 Thus says the LORD, who *prepared* a way in the sea, a path in *strong* waters, 43.17 who brought forth chariots and horses, armies and *a numerous people*; they *were swallowed up together and did not rise*; they were extinguished, quenched like a *dimly burning wick*: 43.18 "Remember not the former things, nor consider *that which was from the beginning*. 43.19 Behold, I am doing a new thing, *and now it is revealed*, will you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in *the devastation*. 43.20 They will give honour *before* me, *when I cause devastated provinces to be inhabited, even the place where jackals and ostriches dwell*; for I give water in the wilderness, rivers in *the devastation*, to give drink to *the exiles of my people with whom I am pleased*. 43.21 This people I *prepared* for my service; they will be declaring by my praises. 43.22 *It is commanded by means of the prophets*, but you *of the house of Jacob* did not *celebrate my service*; but you have been weary of *the teaching of my law*, O Israel! 43.23 You have not brought *before* me *lambs for a burnt offering*, or given honour *before* me with your *holy sacrifices*. I have not *exacted from* you offerings, or *burdened* you with frankincense. 43.24 You have not bought *before* me *sweet cane with money*, or *fatted upon my altar* the fat of your *holy sacrifices*. But you have *exacted before* me with your *sins*, you have *burdened before* me with your iniquities. 43.25 I, I am He, who *forgives your sins for my name's sake*, and your sins will not *be remembered*. 43.26 *Say now*, let us judge together; set forth your case, *if you will be able* you will be proved right. 43.27 Your first father sinned, and your *teachers rebelled against my Memra*. 43.28 Therefore I will profane the princes of *holiness*, I will *hand over Jacob to the slaughter* and Israel to *reproaches*."

Apparatus

43:16 Reuchlinianus adds, "for the people of the house of Israel".

43:17 "dimly burning wick": cf. 42:3. The orthography of "wick" in B.M. 2211 is defective.

43:22 "you" in the Tg is plural, while it is singular in the MT.

43:23 "*exacted from*" might more literally be rendered, "*increased upon*" (see v. 24).
 "offerings": the MT is collective here (cf. Young III, p. 158).

43:24 "*sweet cane*": the adjective is explicitly used in the Tg, but not in the MT.

43:28 "*holiness*" (*qws*) is derived from "*sanctuary*" (*qdš*) in the MT.

44:2 "Jeshurun" is replaced by "Israel" in B.M. 1470, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews' College. The support for this reading is impressive, and it does represent a deviation from the Hebrew text. It would be accepted here, but for the joint omission by B.M. 2211 and 1474.

44:7 "about my placing...": cf. the RSV margin.

44:8 "*to you*" becomes "*to him*" in B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews' College (cf. also Rashi). Stenning, p. 148, accepts the variant, and also cites Reuchlinianus in support. The variant would alter the syntax to: "except he to whom strength is given from before me".

44:13 "*breaks*": cf. the usage of the participle at 27:9, with the meaning "crush". That usage would appear, along with 52:2, to rule out the specialized meaning proposed by Stenning, p. 150, to mark by shaking off chalk. The idea seems rather to be that of breaking the material along a line which is scored, which is a basic technique in any fine woodworking.
 "the *plummet*" is not terribly distant from the MT (cf. "the awl" in Young III, p. 174).
 "chisel" represents the MT, except in number (cf. Young and BDB, p. 893).

44:14 "*establishes*" is the wording of B.M. 2211, while the other extant witness read "strengthen", thereby agreeing with the MT (cf. Young III, p. 176). A change of only the final letter is in question here; the probability is that a visual error has resulted in coherence with the MT.
 "laurel" renders both texts, cf. Young III, p. 177 n. 20 and Winton Thomas, p. 70 (apparatus).

44:17 "image" renders both texts. Moreover, it would appear from the LXX and the Syriac version that the personal pronoun was not used in an earlier recession of the Hebrew text (cf. Winton Thomas, p. 70 [apparatus]).

CHAPTER 44

44.1 "But now hear, O Jacob my servant, Israel with whom *I am pleased!* 44.2 Thus says the LORD who made you, and *prepared* you from the womb and will help you: Fear not, O Jacob my servant, Jeshurun with whom *I am pleased*. 44.3 For *just as* waters *are provided on the land of a thirsty place*, and flow on the dry ground, so I will *bestow* my *Holy Spirit* upon your *sons*, and my blessing upon your *sons' sons*. 44.4 *The righteous* shall *be exalted, tender and indulged as tufts of grass*, like *a tree that sends its roots* by streams of waters. 44.5 This one will say, 'I am *of the fearers of the LORD*,' another will *pray* by the name of Jacob, and another will *bring near his offering before the LORD*, and *draw near* by the name of Israel." 44.6 Thus says the LORD, the King of Israel, and his Redeemer, the LORD of hosts: "I am *he, I am he who was from of old, even the ages of the ages are mine*; besides me there is no god. 44.7 Who is like me, *that will proclaim it?* Let him declare and set it forth before me, about my placing an eternal people and things to come and things about to come, let them tell *us*. 44.8 Fear not, nor be *shattered*; have I not *announced* to you from of old and declared? And you are witnesses *before me!* Is there a God besides me? There is no *one who is strong except that strength is given to you before me*."

44.9 All who make images are nothing, and *those who serve them that* will not profit *them*; *they are* witnesses *against* themselves *that they* neither see nor know, that they may be put to shame. 44.10 Who *makes* a god or casts an image, that is profitable for nothing? 44.11 Behold, all *those serving them* shall be put to shame, craftsmen of *the sons of men made them*; let them all assemble, let them stand forth, they shall *break up* and be put to shame together. 44.12 *The smith from iron makes* an axe and *blows fire* in coals; he *strengthens* it with hammers, and *makes* it with *the strength of his force*; *and if he that makes it becomes hungry and does not eat, there will be no force in him, and if he becomes thirsty and drinks no water, he will be faint*. 44.13 *The carpenter breaks* wood *at the line*, he *saws* it *at the plummet, cutting it through* with the chisel, and *grasping* it with *clamps*; he *makes* it into the figure of a man, with the beauty of *the woman dwelling in the house*. 44.14 He cuts down cedars, or chooses a holm or an oak and *establishes* it among the trees of the forest; he plants *the laurel* and rain nourishes it. 44.15 Then it becomes fuel for man; he takes part of it and warms himself, he kindles a fire and bakes bread; also he makes a god and worships, he *casts the image* and *beseeches from it*. 44.16 Part of it he burns in *the fire*, over part he eats flesh, he roasts meat and is satisfied; also he warms himself and says, "Aha, I am warm, I have seen *the fire*!" 44.17 And the rest of it he makes into a god, *an image*; he worships and

Notes

remainder of the paragraph takes up the exodus typology of v. 2 (vv. 16, 17), and again decries Israel's rejection of the "service" of the Temple and the "law" (v. 22). Indeed, the complaint is that even "your *teachers rebelled*" (v. 27): exile was the result of a complete rejection of sound tradition.

44:1–44:8 Within the promise to "*the righteous*" (v. 4), there is a particular reference to "*fearers of the LORD*", an apparent designation of Gentiles who accepted the God of Israel, perhaps without being circumcised (v. 5, cf. Acts 10:2, 35; 13:16, 26, H. Balz [1983] 1026-1034 and Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 55).

44:9–44:20 The attack on idolatry is heightened somewhat in comparison with the MT, in that idolaters are said to subjugate themselves to their images (v. 17). The particular reference to "*the woman*" sitting in a house fits well into a Babylonian setting, since this appears to have been a perennial motif in the art of the area (v. 13, cf. Porada

subjugates himself to it and beseeches from it and says, “Deliver me, for you are my god!” 44.18 They know not, neither do they discern; for their eyes *are* shut so that they cannot see, so that they cannot understand *with* their heart. 44.19 No one recalls to his heart, nor is there knowledge or understanding to say, “Part of it I burned in *the* fire, I also baked bread upon its coals, I roasted flesh and have eaten; and shall I make the residue of it an abomination? Shall I *worship useless* wood?” 44.20 *Behold his god! Part of it is ash; his foolish heart has led him astray*, and he cannot deliver himself or say, “*Has not my right hand done a lie?*”

44.21 “Remember these things, O Jacob, and Israel, for you are my servant; I *prepared* you *to be a servant serving before me*; O Israel, you will not forget *my fear*. 44.22 I have swept away your *sins* like a cloud, and *all* your sins like *passing* mist; return to *my service*, for I have redeemed you.” 44.23 Sing, O heavens, for the LORD has accomplished *redemption for his people; break forth, O foundations* of the earth; *shout into singing, O mountains, O forest and all trees that are in it!* For the LORD has redeemed Jacob, and will be glorified in Israel. 44.24 Thus says the LORD, your Redeemer, who *prepared* you from the womb: “I am the LORD, who made all things, I stretched out the heavens *by my Memra, I founded the earth by my might*, 44.25 who *makes* signs of *oracles cease and confuses* diviners; who turns *the wise men* back and *corrupts* their knowledge; 44.26 who confirms the word of his servants, *the righteous*, and performs the counsel of his messengers; who says of Jerusalem; ‘She shall be inhabited,’ and of the cities of *the house of Judah*, ‘They shall be built, and I will raise up their ruins’; 44.27 who says *concerning Babylon*, ‘*She will be desolate, I will dry up her rivers*'; 44.28 who promises of Cyrus *to give him a kingdom*, ‘And he shall *confirm* all my pleasure’; saying of Jerusalem, ‘She shall be built, and the temple founded.’”

Apparatus

44:19 “*useless*” (*bly*) plays on “*block*” (*bw*) in the MT.

44:21 “*forget*” is not a very innovative rendering, although *nš*’ usually renders a form of *škh*. Even the reflexive form of the verb is retained in the Tg; but the usage is deponent, unlike the case in the MT.

44:23 “*break forth*”: cf. 14:7; 24:14. The difference between the verbs “*break forth*” (*yb*) and “*shout*” (*bw*) is small enough to make one think in terms of transposition here.

“*glorified*” might also be rendered “*sung*” in the Tg; the same verb is used in the opening of the verse.

44:27 “*desolate*” is arrived at by the meturgeman from “*dry up*” by taking the Hebrew root *hrb* (cf. BDB, p. 351) in a different sense.

45:2 “*walls*”: cf. the RSV margin and Young III, p. 194.

45:4 “*serve*” becomes “*fear*”, by way of explanation, in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Ms. Jews’ College and Reuchlinianus.

45:5 “*serve*”: as above, but only the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles support the variant here.

45:6 “*west*”: B. M. 1474, Reuchlinianus, and the First Rabbinic Bible read “*its west*”, i.e., “*its setting*”. There is support for this reading among the witnesses to the LXX, as well as in the Syriac and Arabic versions (cf. Winton Thomas, p. 71 [apparatus]).

45:7 A marginal addition in Reuchlinianus reads as follows:

He who prepared the light of eternal life for the righteous in the garden of Eden, and creates the darkness of Gehenna for the wicked, who makes peace in this world for those who do his pleasure, and creates evil for those who transgress against his Memra: I am He, the LORD, doing all these things.

45:8 “*flow*” renders both texts (cf. 44:3).

“*the dead may live*”: cf. the RSV margin.

CHAPTER 45

45.1 Thus says the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have strengthened to *hand over peoples* before him and loosen loins of kings, to open doors before him that gates may not be shut: 45.2 “*My Memra* will go before you, and I will level *walls*, I will break in pieces doors of bronze and cut asunder bars of iron, 45.3 I will give you treasures of darkness and hoards of secret places, that you may know that it is I, the LORD, the God of Israel, *that I exalt* you by your name. 45.4 For the sake of my servant, Jacob, and Israel my chosen, I call you by your name, I *prepared* you, though you do not know [how] to serve before me. 45.5 I am the LORD, and there is no other, besides me there is no God; I *help* you, though you do not know (how) to serve before me, 45.6 that they may know, from the rising of the sun and from the west, that there is none besides me; I am the LORD, and there is no other. 45.7 The one who *prepares* light and creates darkness, making peace and creating evil, I am the LORD, who does all these things. 45.8 *Let the heavens minister* from above, and let *the clouds flow with good*; let the earth open, that *the dead may live*, and let *virtue be revealed* also: I the

Notes

[1963] 62). This verse was applied to Eve among the Amoraim (cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 21.2 and Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 48).

44:21–44:28 The return to the motif of the promise to “*the righteous*” (v. 26), which is conditional on their return to cultic “*service*” (v. 22), occasions an explicit oracle against Babylon (v. 27).

45:1–45:25 The oracle addressing Cyrus as God’s “*Messiah*” (which is what “*anointed*” in the RSV translates) freely acknowledges that he does not know how properly to worship God’ (vv. 4, 5). In this connection, the re-

LORD have created *them*. 45.9 Woe to him who *thinks to arise against the words of his Maker, and trusts that the potter's images, which are made from the earthen dust, will do him good. Is it possible that* the clay will say to him who makes it, 'You did not make me,' or 'Your work has no hands?' 45.10 Woe to him who says to a father, 'What will you beget?' or to a woman, 'With what will you be pregnant?'" 45.11 Thus says the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, and *he that prepared him*: "You ask before me of things *that are about to come*, and will you command me concerning my people and concerning *the deed of my might*? 45.12 I by my *Memra* made the earth, and created man upon it; I by my *might* stretched out the heavens and founded all their *forces*. 45.13 I will bring him *openly in truth*, and I will prepare all his ways; he shall build my city and set *the exiles of my people* free, not for price or *mammon*," says the LORD of hosts. 45.14 Thus says the LORD: "The labour of *the Egyptians* and the merchants of Ethiopia and Seba, men of *business*, shall come out to you and be yours, they shall follow your *word*; they shall come over in chains and worship you. They will *beseech from you and give thanks, saying: 'In truth, God is with you, and there is no other God besides him.'*" 45.15 *In truth*, you are God, who *made your Shekhinah dwell in the strength of the height*, O God of Israel, Saviour. 45.16 All of them are put to shame and confounded, *those who serve images* go in confusion together. 45.17 But Israel is saved by *the Memra of the LORD* with everlasting salvation; you shall not be put to shame or confounded to all eternity. 45.18 For thus says the LORD, who created the heavens

Apparatus

45:9 "arise" becomes "judge" in B.M. 1474, Reuchlinianus, Ms. Jews' College, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot. Although this variant is at first sight attractive, the usage of the verb for "strive" in the MT is its precedent (cf. van Zijl, p. 44), and in this sense it represents an accommodation to the MT.

45:12 "I" (on the second occasion) is present in the MT, but "my hands" is the subject of the verb.

45:13 "exiles": the MT term is singular (cf. Young III, p. 205). But for the number, the rendering of the LXX (cf. Ziegler, p. 293) agrees with that of the Tg.

45:14 "merchant(s)" is a possible rendering of the MT (cf. 23:2, 8).
"besides him" is a supplied rendering in the RSV.

45:19 "truth": the term in the MT is "righteousness" (without the definite article).

45:21 "draw near" appears in v. 20, and is the result in v. 21 of ignoring the causative form of the Hebrew text, although the same root is assumed. There is some support for the Tg in the LXX (cf. Ziegler, p. 294), but the third person form is there used.

45:23 "in" is present in the Tg, and supplied in the RSV. (The preposition is omitted in Ms. Jews' College.)

45:24 "has he promised" renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 215).
"to bring" is a causative form of the verb "to come" (cf. the RSV/MT, and v. 21 in the Apparatus).
"he is strong": Stenning takes the form as nominal ("and strength", p. 156). He also emends "give thanks" to "come" on conjectural grounds. In both instances, his tendency to harmonize the Tg with the MT is evident.
"stirred up": cf. 41:11. The syntax of the Tg follows the MT rather closely. But the omission of "to him shall come" in the Tg requires a re-arrangement in the English translation.

46:1 "burdens" renders both texts (RSV: "these things you carry"; cf. Young III, p. 219).

46:3 "beloved" (*rhymyn*) represents a word play on "womb" (*rhm*) in the MT.
"more than" (*m*) is derived from *m*, rendered "by" in the RSV (cf. BDB, p. 577).

46:7 "their shoulders": in this case, a Targumic addition coheres exactly with a supplied rendering in the RSV.
"in its place" permits of actual repetition in the following phrase in the Tg. The construction in the MT is distinctive (*thtyw*).

46:8 "yourselves": both texts employ reflexive forms (cf. Young III, p. 225, and BDB, p. 84).
"rebels" is a possible rendering of the MT (cf. 1:28), although the Targumic *mrwdyn* is more unequivocal.

(he is God!), who *founded* the earth and made it—he established it; he did not create it *for nothing, but he established it to increase the sons of men upon it!* “I am the LORD, and there is no other. 45.19 I did not speak in secret in a place of a land of darkness; I did not say to the seed of *the house of Jacob*, ‘Seek my *fear for nothing*.’ I the LORD speak *truth*, declaring what is right. 45.20 Assemble yourselves and come, draw near together, you who are *delivered* of the peoples! They have no knowledge who carry about their wooden image, and *beseech* from a god who cannot save. 45.21 Declare and *draw near*; take counsel together! Who *announced* this long ago and declared it of old? Was it not I, the LORD? And there is no other god besides me, a God *who is virtuous* and a Saviour; there is none *except* me. 45.22 Turn to my *Memra* and be saved, all *those at the ends of the earth*! For I am God, and there is no other. 45.23 By my *Memra* I have sworn, *before me* has gone forth *in virtue* a word that shall not be *void*: ‘*Before me* every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.’” 45.24 Only in *the Memra of the LORD* has he promised me *to bring virtues*, and *he is strong in his Memra*; all *the Gentiles* who were *stirred up* against *his people* shall *give thanks* and be ashamed of *their idols*. 45.25 In *the Memra of the LORD* all the seed of Israel shall be justified and glorified.

CHAPTER 46

46.1 Bel kneels, Nebo is *hewn down*, their images are *a likeness of* beasts and cattle; *the burdens of their idols* are *heavy upon those who carry them, and they are weary*. 46.2 They are *cut off* and *hewn down* together, they cannot save *those who carry them*, but *those who serve them* go into captivity. 46.3 “*Attend to my Memra, those of the house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, who have been beloved more than all the peoples, cherished more than all the kingdoms*; 46.4 even to *eternity* I am He, and to *the age of the ages* my *Memra endures*. I have *created every man, I scattered them among the peoples*; I will *also forgive their sins* and will *pardon*. 46.5 Whom will you liken *before me* and make equal and compare *before me in truth*? 46.6 *Behold, the Gentiles collect* gold from a purse, and weigh out silver in a *balance*, hire a goldsmith, and he makes it into a god; then they *worship* and are *subjugated*. 46.7 They lift it upon *their shoulders*, they carry it, they set it *in its place*, and it stands there; *it is not possible for it to budge* from its place. He even *beseeches* from it, and it does not answer or save him from his trouble. 46.8 Remember this and *strengthen* yourselves, recall to mind, O rebels, 46.9 remember the former things *which were* of old; for I am God, and there is no other God *besides* me, 46.10 declaring from *the beginning to the end* and from ancient times things not yet done, saying, ‘My counsel shall stand, and I will accomplish all my pleasure,’ 46.11 *who promised to gather the exiles* from the east, *to bring*

Notes

emergence of the attack on idolatry (v. 9) is not surprising, especially since it comes to expression in v. 16 in both the MT and the Tg. The surety of God’s action through Cyrus (v. 13) is so emphatic that it is reminiscent of language applied to Abraham in 41:2, and its special warrant is the presence of the Shekhinah “*in the strength of the height*” (v. 15; for the latter phrase, cf. 40:22).

46:1–46:13 As in 44:9–20, the attack on specifically Gentile idolatry is heightened somewhat (vv. 1, 2, 6, 7). At the same time, clear confidence is expressed that, just as God “*created*” and “*scattered*” men, so he will gather them (v. 4, cf. 66:9 in the Notes); he will bring the “*exiles*” of “*Abraham*” (v. 11, cf. 41:2 and 45:13).

openly, like a swift bird from a far land, the sons of Abraham, my chosen. I have spoken, and I will bring it to pass; I have purposed, and I will do it. 46.12 *Attend to my Memra, you stubborn of heart, you who are far from innocence:* 46.13 *My innocence is near, it is not far off, and my salvation will not be checked;* I will put a saviour in Zion, for Israel my *celebrity.*"

CHAPTER 47

47.1 Come down and sit in *the dust, O kingdom of the congregation of Babylon*, sit on the ground without a throne of glory, kingdom of the Chaldeans! For you shall no more be called tender and *indulged*. 47.2 *Accept illness and enter into slavery, disclose the glory of your kingdom; your rulers are shattered, the people of your armies are scattered, they go into exile as the waters of the river.* 47.3 Your *shame will be revealed*, and your disgrace shall be seen. I will *avenge full retribution from you* and I will *make your judgment different from (that of) the sons of men.* 47.4 Our Redeemer—the LORD of hosts is his name—is the Holy One of Israel. 47.5 Sit in silence, and go into *the darkness, kingdom of the congregation of the Chaldeans*; for you shall no longer be called *strong one of kingdoms.* 47.6 I was angry with my people, I profaned my heritage; I *handed them over* into your hand, you *were not filled with mercy* for them; upon the aged you made your *mastery* exceedingly *strong.* 47.7 You said, "I shall be a *strong one among kingdoms* forever," so that you did not lay these things to heart or remember *to the end.* 47.8 Now therefore hear this, you *indulged one* who sits in safety, who says in her heart, "I am, and there is no one *besides* me; I shall not sit as a widow or know loss of children." 47.9 These two things will come to you in a moment, in *the one day*; loss of children and widowhood shall come upon you in full measure in spite of your many sorceries and the great *strength* of your enchantments. 47.10 You trusted in your wickedness, you said, "No one sees me"; your wisdom and your knowledge

Apparatus

47:2 "*illness*": so Dalman, p. 252, cf. Stenning's emendation to "dominion" (p. 159), which agrees with the reading of the Second Rabbinic Bible.

"*waters of the river*" is the rendering of all the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211, which has "just as", but in Hebrew. Stenning, p. 158, and van Zijl, p. 101, accept the majority reading, which in view of 8:7; 23:10; 43:2 is the more probable.

47:8 "*besides*" is an explanatory addition in the Tg and the RSV (cf. BDB, p. 67, and Young III, p. 237).

47:10 "*besides*": cf. above.

47:13 "*those who*" is the reading of B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Reuchlinianus. B.M. 2211 and Ms. Jews' College have "*you who were*". In view of the following syntax, the latter reading is quite unlikely (so Stenning, p. 160).

corrupted you, and you said in your heart, “I am, and there is no one *besides me*.” 47.11 But evil shall come upon you, *concerning* which you will not know (*how*) to beseech; distress shall fall upon you, which you will not be able to *take away*; and tumult shall come on you suddenly, [of which] you will not know. 47.12 Stand fast in your enchantments and your many sorceries with which you *were* labouring from your youth; perhaps you will be able to profit, perhaps you *will be able to be strong*. 47.13 You are wearied with your many counsels; let them stand forth and save you, those who *look at planets of the heavens*, who gaze at the stars, who predict *the appointed times, misleading you, saying, “So it is about to befall you new moon by new moon.”* 47.14 Behold, they are *faint as the chaff, the peoples who are strong as the fire* destroy them; they cannot deliver themselves from the power of *killers*. *They have no remnant or survivor, not even a place to be rescued in!* 47.15 Such to you are *the deeds of your deceit* with which you *were* labouring from your youth; *the rulers of your strength go into exile*, each *before his face*; there is no one to save you.

Notes

47:1-47:15 Babylon must now accept precisely the fate Israel once suffered: slavery, breaking, scattering and exile (vv. 1, 2, 14, 15). Indeed, the judgment against this “*kingdom*” (v. 1) will be incomparably severe (vv. 3, 11). The reason for the punishment is not only Babylon’s cruelty to Israel (v. 6), but its claim to uniqueness (vv. 7, 10). The wording of this claim is particularly arrogant in the Tg, in that it is reminiscent of God’s own claim to unique, divine authority (cf. 43:11; 45:6). Particular emphasis is given to the astrological pretensions of Babylon (v. 13), which corresponds well to its ancient reputation (cf. Neusner [V, 1970] 190-193). The use of the term “*congregation*” in v. 1 and v. 5 is a bit odd, since it normally refers to those of Israel. But it frequently renders “daughter” in the MT, and the meturgeman seems here to be translating somewhat mechanically.

CHAPTER 48

48.1 Hear this, O house of Jacob, who are called by the name of Israel, and who came forth from the *families* of Judah, *with whom a covenant was decreed* in the name of the LORD God of Israel: *Your remembrance will not cease; does not his Memra endure* in truth and *virtue*? 48.2 For in the holy city *is their portion*, and *their trust* in the God of Israel; the LORD of hosts in his name. 48.3 “The former things I declared of old, they went forth from my *Memra* and I *announced* them; then suddenly I did them and they came to pass. 48.4 Because *it is disclosed before me* that you are *disobedient*, and your neck is stubborn *as iron*, and your forehead *hard as brass*, 48.5 I declared them to you from of old, before *they* came to pass I *announced* them to you, lest you should say, ‘My *god* did them, my image and my molten image *directed* them.’ 48.6 You have heard; *has what is revealed to you been revealed to any other people*; and will you not declare it? I *announce* to you new things from this time forth, hidden things which you have not known. 48.7 They are created now, not long ago; before *the day of their coming* I never *announced* them, lest you should say, ‘*These things*, I knew them.’ 48.8 You have never heard *the sayings of the prophets*, you have never *listened to the teaching of the law*, you did not even *incline* your ear *to listen to the words of blessings and curses*, *my covenant which I covenanted with you on Horeb*. For *it was disclosed before me* that you would deal very treacherously, and that from birth you were called a rebel. 48.9 For my name’s sake I will defer my anger, and my praise I will *establish* for you, for the sake of not *destroying* you. 48.10 Behold, I have refined you, but not with silver; I have tried you in an *oppression of poverty*. 48.11 For my name’s sake, for my *Memra*’s sake I will act, *that nothing* should be profaned. My glory—with which I am *revealed to you*—I will not give to another *people*. 48.12 *Attend to my Memra*, O those

Apparatus

48:1 “*families*”: the pointing of this term is odd, but it is more probably a defective plural than a defective singular (cf. van Zijl, p. 54).
 “*remembrance*”: a verbal form of the cognate stem appears in the MT (RSV: “confess”).

48:5 “*they*”: the MT reads “*it*” (cf. Young III, p. 247).

48:6 “*any*” renders the same term rendered “*all*” in the RSV.

48:8 “*even*” (*gn* in the MT, *p* in the Tg) is in both texts (cf. “*also*” in Young III, p. 249).

48:10 “*with*”: cf. the RSV margin, and—for an explanation—Young III, p. 253.

48:12 “*even*”: cf. v. 8.

48:13 “*Indeed*” renders the same terms rendered “*even*” in v. 8.
 “*by my might*”: in all witnesses except B.M. 2211, “*and*” precedes, in accordance with MT.

48:14 “*among them*” becomes “*among you*” in the Antwerp Polyglot and Ms. Jews’ College. The variant can be explained with reference to the opening of the verse, and is too scantily attested to be accepted.
 “*against*”, which is present in the Tg, is a supplied rendering in the RSV (cf. Young III, p. 254).

48:15 “*I prospered*”: cf. the LXX (Ziegler, p. 303). “*In*” is a supplied rendering in the RSV, and the verb in the MT need not be taken as future (cf. Young III, p. 254).

48:21 “*gushed out*” (*nb’w*): B.M. 1474, the First Rabbinic Bible, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College read “*dried up*” (*ngwhw*). The Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot read “*flowed*” (*ngdw*).

of the house of Jacob, and Israel, whom I appointed! I am He, I am He that is from the first, even the ages of the ages are mine, and besides me there is no God. 48.13 *Indeed, by my Memra I founded the earth, by my might I stretched out the heavens: I called to them, they stood forth together.* 48.14 *Assemble, all of you, and hear! Who among them has declared these things? The LORD, because he has compassion on Israel, shall perform his pleasure on Babylon, and the strength of his mighty arm he shall reveal against the Chaldeans,* 48.15 *I, even I, by my Memra decreed a covenant with Abraham your father and exalted him, I brought him to the land of my Shekhinah's house and I prospered his way.* 48.16 *Draw near to my Memra, hear this: from the beginning I have not spoken in secret, from the time the Gentiles separated from my fear, from there I brought Abraham near to my service.*" *They prophet said,* And now the *LORD God* has sent me and his *Memra*. 48.17 *Thus says the LORD, your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: "I am the LORD your God who teaches you to profit, who declares to you the way you should go in.* 48.18 *If you had hearkened to my commandments, then your peace would have been like the overflowing of the Euphrates river, and your innocence like the waves of the sea;* 48.19 *then your sons would have been numerous as the sand of the sea, and your sons' sons as its pebbles; the name of Israel would not cease or be destroyed before me for ever.*" 48.20 *Go forth from Babylon, flee from the province of the land of the Chaldeans, declare this with a shout of joy, announce it, send it forth to the ends of the earth; say, "The LORD has redeemed his servants, those of the house of Jacob!"* 48.21 *He did not let them thirst [when] he led them through the deserts; he brought forth water for them from the rock; he cleft the rock and the water gushed out.* 48.22 *"There is no peace," says the LORD, "for the wicked."*

Notes

48:1–48:22 The addition of “*families*” in v. 1 shifts the perspective from which the addressees are called: they appear to be derived from Judah, and not to be in the land apportioned to Judah (cf. “*sons' sons*” in v. 19). (That they are described as beneficiaries of a “*covenant*”, rather than as swearing [cf. the MT] accords with the rabbinic aversion to oaths [cf. Smolar and Aberbach (1983) 10, 11]. But “*covenant*” itself signifies an important agreement for the meturgeman, cf. v. 15 and 57:8.) Nonetheless, they are the ones who are truly in a unique position in respect of God (v. 6), whatever Babylon might claim (cf. 47:8, 10). In this context, the condemnation of Israel in v.8 seems particularly hard and global: they rejected not only prophetic and legal teaching, but God’s words through Moses (cf. Deuteronomy 29-31). Because the Amoraic meturgeman addressed an Israel which, he thought, was already somewhat penitent (cf. 21:12 in the Notes), it is possible that the present interpretation derives from an earlier period. In any case, the strong statement of Israel’s failing underscores that God acts for his own glory (vv. 9f.). It is God’s compassion (v. 14), as compared to Babylon’s lack of compassion (cf. 47:6), which causes him to act as he does. “*Abraham*” appears as surety of God’s promise, and in connection with “*service*” in the Temple (vv. 15, 16). A similar connection is made at 5:1; 51:2, where the motif appears to be Tannaitic, while the Amoraic meturgeman appears to have associated Abraham more with the miraculous return of exiles (46:11, cf. 41:2, where the military imagery makes the usage appear to be of somewhat earlier date). The reference to the “*Euphrates*” (v. 18), however, reflects the final form of the interpretation (cf. 11:15; 27:12, and—for the same simile—59:19; 66:12).

CHAPTER 49

49.1 *Attend to my Memra, O islands*, and hearken, you *kingdoms* from afar. The LORD appointed me *before I was*, from the body of my mother he made mention of my name. 49.2 He placed *his words* in my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of his *might* he *protected* me; he made me *like a select arrow* which in *a quiver is hidden*. 49.3 And he said to me, “You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified.” 49.4 But I said, “I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nothing and vanity; yet surely my judgment is *disclosed before* the LORD, and *the recompense of deeds before* my God.” 49.5 And now the LORD speaks, who *prepared* me from the womb to be a servant *serving before* him, to bring *those of the house of Jacob* back to his *service*, and that Israel might be *brought near* to his *fear*, for I am honoured *before* the LORD, and *the Memra* of my God has become my *help*— 49.6 he says: “Is it a *small thing to you* that you *are called my servants* to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the *exiles* of Israel? I will give you as a light to *peoples*, that my salvation may be to the ends of the earth.” 49.7 Thus says the LORD, the Redeemer of Israel and his Holy One, to *those despised among the Gentiles*, to *those cast out among the kingdoms*, to *those who are servants to rulers*: “Kings shall look *to them* and princes arise; and they shall *worship*; because of the LORD, who is faithful, the Holy One of Israel, who *is pleased with you*.” 49.8 Thus says the LORD, “In a time *that you do my pleasure* I accept *your prayer*, in a day of *distress* I raise up salvation and help you: I will *prepare* you and give you as a covenant of people, to raise up *the righteous who lie in the dust*, to apportion desolate heritages; 49.9 saying to the prisoners *among the Gentiles*, ‘Come forth,’ and to those who are *jailed among the kingdoms as in the*

Apparatus

49:2 “placed” renders the verb equivalent to “made” in the RSV.

49:4 “deeds”: the “my” of the MT is restored in B.M. 1474.

49:5 “to his *fear*”: the MT reads “not” (*ל*), and the RSV translators correct this to “to him” (*לְוָיָה*).

49:6 “*to you*”, “*you*”, and “*are called*” are plural in the Tg, while the MT is in the singular at this point. But the Tg returns to the singular usage in v. 6b.

49:7 “*despised*”: the form in the MT is actually active, despite the impression given in the RSV.

49:8 “*you*” is plural in the Tg, as is v. 8a as a whole, while the MT is in the singular (cf. v. 6).

49:9 “*Be revealed*” is a possible rendering of the MT (cf. Young III, p. 279), but the usage within the Tg more clearly bears this meaning.

49:12 “*the south*” may be the gist of the MT (cf. Young III, p. 282).

49:15 There is a substantive addition in the Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot. It reads as follows:
The congregation of Israel answered and said, Can it be forgotten before him, so that it is forgotten that I made the calf of gold? The prophet said to her, Indeed, these things are forgotten. She said to him, Is it, then, forgotten before him, so that it is forgotten that I said on Sinai, Let us make and beseech [it]? He answered and said, Indeed, these things are not forgotten.

49:17 “*they build*” renders “*your sons*” in the MT (cf. Young III, p. 283, and the Targumic text of the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles). The rendering of the RSV represents a different pointing on the basis of the Tg and various readings in the LXX (cf. Ziegler, p. 308).

darkness, ‘Be revealed *to light*.’ They shall *lie down* along the ways, in all bare heights shall be their *place of staying*; 49.10 they shall not hunger or thirst, neither heat nor *the sun* shall smite them, for he who *is about to* have pity on them will lead them, and by springs of water will *make them lie down*. 49.11 And I will make *the mountains level before them*, *as a way*, and *the highways* shall be raised up. 49.12 Lo, these shall come from afar, and lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of *the south*.” 49.13 Sing for joy, O heavens, and rejoice, O earth; *exult*, O mountains, in singing! For the LORD *is about to* comfort his people, and will have compassion on his *poor*. 49.14 *Because* Zion said, “The LORD has *taken up his Shekhinah from me*, *the LORD has rejected me*.” 49.15 “*Is it possible that* a woman can forget her *son*, that she should have no compassion on the son of her womb? Even *if* these may forget, *my Memra* will not *reject* you. 49.16 Behold, *as on hands you are portrayed before me*; your walls are continually before me. 49.17 They hasten, *they build your ruins*, those who *razed* you and those who *laid* you waste *go away from you into exile*.”

Notes

49:1–49:17 The crucial issue in the servant’s ministry is to restore Israel to cultic “*service*” (v. 5), but it should be observed that the precise identity of the servant, as distinct from Israel, is at first as unclear in the Tg as it is in the MT (cf. v. 3 in particular). From v. 6, however, a clear preference for a corporate interpretation emerges (cf. v. 8 in the Apparatus); the community in exile appears to be in view (vv. 7, 9). The position of God’s people after the departure of the Shekhinah is referred to (v. 14); rebuilding and restoration are the hope of the future, along with exile for those who destroyed Israel (v. 17).

49.18 “Lift up your eyes round about, *O Jerusalem*, and see all *the sons of the people of your exiles*; they gather, they come *into your midst*. As I live, says the *LORD*, all of them *will be to you as a garment of glory, their deeds in your midst will be as the bride's ornament*. 49.19 Surely your waste and desolate places and your devastated land—surely now you will be too *pressed* for inhabitants, and those who *annihilated* you will be *rejected*. 49.20 *From now on* the sons of the people of your exiles will say, *each one* in your *midst*, ‘The place is too narrow for me; make room for me to dwell in.’ 49.21 Then you will say in your heart: ‘Who has *brought* me *up* these? I was bereaved and *alone*, exiled and *cast out*, but who has brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; whence are these?’” 49.22 Thus says the *LORD God*: “Behold, I will *disclose* my *might among the peoples*, and raise my signal *over the kingdoms*; and your sons shall *come* in litters and your daughters shall be carried on *couches*. 49.23 Kings shall be your foster fathers, and their queens *shall minister to you*. Upon their faces, *upon the ground* they shall *spread out to beseech* from you, and lick the dust of your feet. Then you will know that I am the *LORD*; *the righteous* who wait for *my salvation* shall not be put to shame.” 49.24 *Is it possible that booty* can be taken from *the mighty*, or *that which virtuous men capture* be rescued? 49.25 Surely, thus says the *LORD*: “Even *that which*

Apparatus

49:18 “garment” is the nominal form of the root “to put on” (*lbš*; cf. the RSV).

“bride's ornament” is also the reading of the LXX (cf. Ziegler, p. 308, Winton Thomas, p. 79). Winton Thomas accepts the versonal addition, and the omission of “ornament” earlier. But the RSV shows that the syntax of the MT is quite understandable, although less conventional than the LXX and the Tg.

49:19 “rejected” in the Tg employs the cognate of the root used in the MT (*rhq*), but in reflexive form and with the distinctive Targumic meaning.

49:22 “come” in the Tg employs the equivalent term of the MT, but not in its causative form. This distinctive reading is not shared by B.M. 1474 or Bodleian 2617.

“couches”: the term “shoulder” in the MT is singular, and unmodified by “their” (cf. the RSV). The pointing of the Tg is peculiar. “Shoulders” is Levy's rendering, following B.M. 1474, 1470, and several other witnesses (cf. Stenning, p. 169, in comparison with Sperber, p. 101). The strength of this reading's attestation tells against the view that it is a secondary attempt at harmonization, especially in view of its absence from the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot. But B.M. 2211 and the last mentioned witnesses read “couches” (cf. Dalman, pp. 346, 348, and Jastrow II, p. 1146). Stenning and Sperber rightly remain loyal to B.M. 2211 in view of the interpretative nature of v. 22b, but the strength of the other reading is notable.

49:24 A marginal addition in Reuchlinianus reads as follows:

Jerusalem said, Is it possible that the booty of the house of Israel should be taken from the sons of mighty Esau, or that the possessions should be rescued which the sons of strong Ishmael captured from the righteous? Thus says the *LORD*: That which the mighty ones of the house of Esau have captured from my people Israel will be restored to them, and that which the strong ones of the house of Ishmael have plundered from those of the house of Jacob shall be rescued. I will take the retribution of Jerusalem, and I will redeem your sons from among the Gentiles.

49:26 “make”, literally “give”, is a transitive verb, and does not represent a causative form (as in the RSV).

50:1 “who” (or “which”) is followed by “man” in B.M. 1474, 1470, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews' College.

50:11 “grasp a sword”: cf. the RSV margin. The Second Rabbinic Bible and the Antwerp Polyglot provide the interpretation with a narrative setting:

The Gentiles answered and said before him, Our Lord, it is not possible for us to occupy ourselves with the law, because all day long, we are engaged in war against one another, and when we are victorious, we set houses on fire, and capture women, children, and possessions. With this task, we fill our day, and it is not possible for us to occupy ourselves with the law. The Holy One, blessed be he, answered and said to them...

mighty *men* capture *I will restore*, and *that which strong men take away I will rescue*, for I will *avenge your retribution* and save your sons. 49.26 I will *make the flesh of those who are* your oppressors *food for every bird of the heavens*, and *just as they are drunk from sweet wine, so shall beasts of the field* be drunk from their blood. Then all *the sons of flesh* will know that I am the LORD your Saviour, and your Redeemer, the Strong One of Jacob."

CHAPTER 50

50.1 Thus says the LORD: "Where is *the bill of divorce which I gave your congregation, that it is rejected?* Or who *had a debt against me*, to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your *sins* you were sold, and for your *apostasies* your *congregation was rejected*. 50.2 Why, when I *sent my prophets, did they not repent? When they prophesied, did they not listen?* Is my *might shrunk*, that it cannot redeem? Or is there *before* me no power to deliver? Behold, by my rebuke I will dry up *the sea*, I will make rivers a desert; their fish *will stink* for lack of water, and die of thirst. 50.3 I will *cover the heavens as with darkness*, and make *as sackcloth their covering*." 50.4 The *LORD God* has given me the tongue of those who *teach*, to *make [me] know [how] to teach with wisdom the righteous who faint for the words of his law*. *Therefore* morning by morning he *rises early to send his prophets so perhaps the sinners' ears might be opened and they might listen to teaching*. 50.5 The *LORD God has sent me to prophesy*, and I was not rebellious, I turned not backward. 50.6 I gave my back to smiters, and my cheeks to them that pluck out the beard; I hid not my face from shame and spitting. 50.7 For the *LORD God* helps me; therefore I have not been confounded; therefore I have set my face *strong like rock*, and I know that I shall not be put to shame; 50.8 my *innocence* is near. Who will *go to judgment* with me? Let us stand up together. Who is my *enemy*? Let him come near to me. 50.9 Behold, the *LORD God* helps me; who will declare me *a sinner*? Behold, all of them *are like the garment that wears out, that the moth eats*. 50.10 Who among you *of those who fear the LORD* obeys the voice of his servants *the prophets*, who *performs the law in distress as a man who walks in the darkness and has no light*, trusts in the name of the LORD and relies upon *the salvation of his God*? 50.11 Behold, all you who kindle a fire, *who grasp a sword!* Go, *fall in the fire which you kindled and on the sword which you grasped!* This you have from my *Memra*: you shall *return to your stumbling*.

Notes

49:18–49:26 "Jerusalem" now becomes the particular focus of the promise, and the return is portrayed as so imminent it can already be seen (v. 18). The imminence of the expectation is such that it might be ascribed to the Tannaitic period.

50:1–50:11 The failure of the "*congregation*" (v. 1) to repent in the face of the prophetic pronouncement is the theme of this chapter (cf. vv. 2, 4, 10). The final word of condemnation for his failure (v. 11) is reminiscent of a saying of Jesus (cf. Matthew 26:52, and Chilton [1982] 98f.). Together with the present, hard teaching concerning repentance (cf. 48:8 in the Notes), this gives rise to the suggestion that the interpretation of the present passage is essentially Tannaitic.

CHAPTER 51

51.1 “*Attend to my Memra, you who pursue the truth, you who seek teaching from the LORD; consider that as the hewn stone from the rock you were hewn and as the rubble from an empty pit you were hacked.* 51.2 *Consider Abraham your father and Sarah who was pregnant with you; for when Abraham was but one, single in the world, I brought him near to my service, and I blessed him and made him many.* 51.3 *For the LORD is about to comfort Zion and to comfort all her waste places, and he will make her wilderness like Eden, her desert like the garden of the LORD; joy and gladness will be found in her, those offering thanksgiving and the voice of those singing.* 51.4 *Attend to my Memra, my people, and give ear to my service, my congregation; for the law will go forth before me, and my judgment as a light; to it the peoples will join.* 51.5 *My virtue draws near, my salvation has gone forth, and by the strength of my mighty arm peoples will be judged; islands wait for my Memra, and for the strength of my mighty arm they hope.* 51.6 *Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and consider the earth beneath; for the heavens will pass as the smoke which passes, the earth will wear out as a covering wears out, and they who dwell in it, even they, will die in like manner; but my salvation will be for ever, and my virtue will never be checked.* 51.7 *Attend to my Memra, you who know the truth, people in whose heart is the teaching of my law; fear not from the reproaches of the sons of men, and be not shattered at their self-exaltation.* 51.8 *For [they are] like a garment which the moth eats, and like wool which rot attacks; but my virtue will be for ever, and my salvation to all generations.”*

51.9 *Be revealed, be revealed, put on strength, O might from before the LORD; be revealed as in the days of old, the generations of long ago. Was it not for your sake,*

Apparatus

51:1 “*rubble*”: “which is” is added in B.M. 1474, 1470, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Reuchlinianus.

51:4 “*will join*” renders “I will hasten” in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 921).

51:5 “*draws near*”: the addition “*speedily*” in the RSV appears to be an attempt to render “will hasten” from the last verse (cf. above).

“*judged*” represents the usage of the equivalent roots in the two texts, but in different voices.

51:6 “*in like manner*”: cf. the RSV margin and Young III, p. 306.

51:12 “*you*” (on the second occasion) is plural in the Tg, and singular in the MT.

51:14 “*The avenger*” is “*retribution*” in B.M. 1470, and “*the retribution*” in the Antwerp Polyglot. But both variant readings probably represent accommodations to the normal usage of the Tg.

“*in destruction*” renders “*in the pit*” in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 1001); the earlier phrase in the RSV is supplied.

51:15 “*rebukes*”, in view of 17:13; 54:9, might be taken as the reading of both texts, as would accord with the conjectural emendation of Winton Thomas, p. 83. But the LXX offers no support for this point of view (cf. Ziegler, p. 315).

51:16 “*You*” (on the second occasion): cf. v. 12; the earlier part of the verse maintains the second person singular usage of the MT.

51:19 “*will comfort you*”: cf. the RSV margin.

51:20 “*dashed to pieces*”: cf. 13:16.

“*thrown*”: the passive pointing of B.M. 1474 and 1470, Bodleian 2617 and Bibliothèque Nationale 1325 is to be accepted (cf. Stenning, p. 177, and 26:19). A misprint in van Zijl, p. 180 confuses the present reading with v. 10.

“*those cast*”: Levy II, p. 232, Dalman, p. 134, and Stenning, pp. 176, 177, alter the pointing of *mzrqy* and take the form as a passive participle (cf. 28:25). Without change in pointing, the term might be taken to mean “necks” (cf. van Zijl, p. 99); in this case, the imagery would be of a trapped animal. But the meturgeman’s style is not usually so pictorial.

51:23 “*oppressors*”: cf. 49:26. The meturgeman may have understood the presence of a different verb in the Hebrew text.

congregation of Israel, that I shattered the mighty men, destroyed Pharaoh and his armies, which were strong as the dragon? 51.10 Was it not for your sake, congregation of Israel, that I dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep? I made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass through. 51.11 And the ransomed of the LORD will be gathered from among their exiles, and come to Zion with singing; everlasting joy will be theirs, that does not cease, and a cloud of glory will cover their heads; they shall find joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall cease from them, from those of the house of Israel. 51.12 “I, I am he that comforts you; of whom are you afraid, of man who dies, of the son of man who is reckoned as the grass? 51.13 And you have forgotten the service of the LORD, your Maker, who stretched out the heavens and founded the earth, and do you fear continually all the day because of the fury of the oppressor, when he sets himself to destroy. And now, where is the fury of the oppressor? 51.14 The avenger shall speedily be revealed; the righteous shall not die in destruction, neither shall they lack their food. 51.15 For I am the LORD your God, who rebukes the sea so that its waves roar,—the LORD of hosts is his name. 51.16 And I have put the words of my prophecy in your mouth, and protected you in the shadow of my might, to establish the people concerning whom it was said that they would increase as the stars of the heavens and to found the congregation concerning whom it was said they would increase as the dust of the earth, and to say to those who reside in Zion, ‘You are my people.’” 51.17 Exalt yourself, exalt yourself, stand up, O Jerusalem, you who have accepted before the LORD the cup of his wrath, who have drunk to the dregs a bowl of the cup of cursing. 51.18 There is none to comfort her among all the sons she has borne; there is none to take her by the hand among all the sons she has brought up. 51.19 Two distresses have come upon you, Jerusalem—you are not able to stand. When four will come upon you—spoil and breaking and famine and sword; there is none that will comfort you but I. 51.20 Your sons will be dashed to pieces, thrown at the head of all the streets like those cast in nets; they are full of wrath from the LORD, rebuke from your God. 51.21 Therefore hear this, you who are cast out, who are drunk with distress, but not with wine. 51.22 Thus says your Lord, the LORD, your God who is about to take the just retribution of his people: “Behold, I have accepted from your hand the cup of cursing; the bowl of the cup of my wrath you shall drink no more; 51.23 and I will hand it over into the hand of those who were your oppressors, who have said to you, ‘Be humble, that we may pass over’; and you have humbled your glory like the ground, and were like a street to those who pass over.”

Notes

51:1–51:8 The association of Abraham with cultic “service” (v. 2) is by now well established in the Tg (cf. 48:15, 16), and he is referred to as a paradigm of those who pursue and know “the truth” (vv. 1, 7). “Service” is also the vocation of the “congregation”, who are again to bring thanksgiving and sing (vv. 3, 4).

51:9–51:23 The reference to Pharaoh under the imagery of a dragon in v. 9 (cf. 43:2) is occasioned by the exodus typology already present in the MT (v. 10). But it contrasts with 27:1, and its allusion to Roman power. Clearly, v. 11 in context promises a return for the Babylonian “congregation” [vv. 9, 10]; but the issue of the Shekhinah—which was so urgent to the mind of the Tannaitic meturgeman—has retreated into the background. Although the language of sheltering is here used [vv. 11, 16], it is not associated directly with the Shekhinah, as it is at 4:5. Rather—as at 35:10—it is associated purely with the return from exile. Similarly, the present meturgeman can even speak of Jerusalem drinking “the cup of cursing” (vv. 17, 22), which is a usage that is avoided by his earlier colleague (cf. 28:13 in the Notes). The perspective of v. 19 would seem to presuppose two major destructions of Jerusalem, in 587 B.C. and A.D. 70 (cf. Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 79).

CHAPTER 52

52.1 *Be revealed, be revealed, put on your strength, O Zion; put on, put on your celebrity, O Jerusalem, the holy city; for there shall no longer pass among you the uncircumcised and the unclean.* 52.2 *Shake yourself from the dust, arise, sit, O Jerusalem on the throne of glory; the chains of your necks are broken, O captives of the congregation of Zion.* 52.3 *For thus says the LORD: “You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed without money.* 52.4 *For thus says the LORD God: my people went down at the first to Egypt to sojourn there, and the Assyrian robbed him for nothing.* 52.5 *Now therefore I am about to save, says the LORD, seeing that my people are sold for nothing. The peoples that rule over them boast, says the LORD, and continually all the day they incite to anger over against the service of my name.* 52.6 *Therefore my name shall be exalted among the peoples; therefore in that time you shall know that it is I who speak; and my Memra endures.”* 52.7 *How beautiful upon the mountains of the land of Israel are the feet of him who announces, who publishes peace, who announces good tidings, who publishes salvation, who says to the congregation of Zion, “The kingdom of your God is revealed.”* 52.8 *The voice of your*

Apparatus

52:1 “uncircumcised” and “unclean” are singular in the MT, and plural in the Tg.

52:2 “sit,”: cf. the RSV margin and Young III, p. 325.
“glory” becomes “your glory” in B.M. 1474.
“your” is plural in the Tg, and singular in the MT.

52:5 “*that rule over them*” renders “ones ruling him” in the MT (cf. BDB, p. 605). “Them” is the reading of all the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211, which has “him” (in accordance with the MT).

52:6 “*you shall know*”: the verb is transferred from earlier in the verse of the MT. The nearly equivalent phrase in the RSV is supplied (cf. Young III, p. 325).

52:7 “*kingdom*”: the use of this term is closely related to the verbal usage (RSV: “reigns”) in the MT.

52:9 “*Shout and sing together*” represents the syntax of both texts, although “and” is not present in the MT.

52:12 “*leads*”: the diction of the Tg is innovative, but both texts use participles here (cf. Young III, p. 329).
“*gather*” (*knš*): this verb, and the resulting interpretation, are inspired by the Hebrew root *sp*, which is present in the noun rendered “rear guard” in the RSV.

52:14 “*him*”: cf. the RSV margin.
“*were*” is in B.M. 2211 alone. The other extant witnesses read “*was*”, and in most the number of “appearances” is altered. The plural usage in B.M. 2211 is probably an analogy to “*face*”, which is plural in Aramaic.

“*dark*” conforms with a Talmudic expression for a downcast look (cf. Levy I, p. 246). The usage cited by Levy is plural (cf. above).

“*aspect*” might more literally be rendered “brilliance” (cf. 53:2).

52:15 “*so he shall*”: cf. the RSV margin. The Tg at any rate does not depart from the syntax of the MT (cf. Young III, p. 334).

53:1 “*report*”: cf. 37:7. The noun comes from the verb meaning “announce” (cf. 40:9; 52:7).

53:2 “*righteous*” is taken as a singular by Dalman, *Dialektproben* (1960) 10 on the basis of a reading in Reuchlinianus (cf. also the Second Rabbinic Bible, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews’ College). He also attempts to omit the “generations” clause as a “gloss”. But the tendency to view aspects of the “Servant Song” as plural, and in respect of the community, is basic to the interpretation of the meturgeman.

“*his*” (on the first occasion) corresponds to “*to him*” in the MT (RSV: “*he*”).

“*brilliance*”, as at 35:2, derives from *hdr* in the MT (RSV: “*corneliness*”).

guardians, who lift up their voice, together they sing for joy; for with their eyes they will see the prodigies which the LORD will do when he will return his Shekhinah to Zion. 52.9 *Shout and sing together, you waste places of Jerusalem; for the LORD is about to comfort his people, he has redeemed Jerusalem.* 52.10 *The LORD has disclosed his holy arm to the eyes of all the peoples; and all those at the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.* 52.11 *Separate, separate, go out thence, draw near no unclean thing; go out from the midst of her, purify yourselves, you who bear the vessels of the sanctuary of the LORD.* 52.12 *For you shall not go out in haste from among the peoples, and you shall not be brought in flight to your land, for the LORD leads before you, and the God of Israel is about to gather your exiles.* 52.13 *Behold, my servant, the Messiah, shall prosper, he shall be exalted and increase, and shall be very strong.* 52.14 *Just as the house of Israel hoped for him many days—their appearances were so dark among the peoples, and their aspect beyond that of the sons of men—* 52.15 *so he shall scatter many peoples; kings shall be silent because of him, they shall place their hands upon their mouth; for things which have not been told to them they have seen, and that which they have not heard they have understood.*

CHAPTER 53

53.1 Who has believed *this our report?* And to whom has *the strength of the mighty arm of the LORD been so revealed?* 53.2 And *the righteous shall be exalted before him, behold, like tufts which sprout, and like a tree which sends its roots by streams of waters, so holy generations will increase on the land which was needing him; his appearance is not a common appearance and his fearfulness is not an ordinary fearfulness, and his brilliance will be holy brilliance, that everyone who looks at him will*

Notes

52:1-52:15 The glorious promise to Jerusalem is emphasized (vv. 1, 2), and “service” continues to be the principal point at issue (v. 5, cf. chapter 51). But, as in earlier usages, the “kingdom” is associated with “*the land of Israel*” (v. 7, cf. 24:23; 31:4; 40:9), and with the Shekhinah (v. 8, cf. 40:9, 22). In the present chapter, “service” is not in the least an abstract issue: those who serve in “*the sanctuary*” are called to purify themselves, to be prepared to minister (v. 11). The gathering of exiles (v. 12) is associated with a victorious “*Messiah*” (vv. 13-15), and this is a further indication that we are dealing substantively with the work of the earlier, Tannaitic meturgeman (cf. 10:27; 11:1, 6; 14:29; 16:1, 5).

53:1-53:12 The chapter is developed to refer to the Messiah and the “*righteous*” (v. 2) who depend on him, but in no sense can the Messiah (or the “servant”, cf. 52:13) be said to suffer. Indeed, the point of the interpretation is to

consider him. 53.3 *Then the glory of all the kingdoms will be for contempt and cease; they will be faint and mournful, behold, as a man of sorrows and appointed for sicknesses; and as when the face of the Shekhinah was taken up from us, they are despised and not esteemed.* 53.4 *Then he will beseech concerning our sins and our iniquities for his sake will be forgiven; yet we were esteemed wounded, smitten before the LORD and afflicted.* 53.5 *And he will build the sanctuary which was profaned for our sins, handed over for our iniquities; and by his teaching his peace will increase upon us, and in that we attach ourselves to his words our sins will be forgiven us.* 53.6 *All we like sheep have been scattered; we have gone into exile, every one his own way; and before the LORD it was a pleasure to forgive the sins of us all for his sake.* 53.7 *He beseeches, and he is answered, and before he opens his mouth he is accepted; the strong ones of the peoples he will hand over like a lamb to the sacrifice, and like a ewe which before its shearers is dumb, so there is not before him one who opens his mouth or speaks a saying.* 53.8 *From bonds and retribution he will bring our exiles near; the wonders which will be done for us in his days, who will be able to recount? For he will take away the rule of the Gentiles from the land of Israel; the sins which my people sinned he will cast on to them.* 53.9 *And he will hand over the wicked to Gehenna and those rich in possessions which they robbed to the death of the corruption, lest those who commit sin be established, and speak of possessions with their mouth.* 53.10 *Yet before the LORD it was a pleasure to refine and to cleanse the remnant of his people, in order to purify their soul from sins; they shall see the kingdom of their Messiah, they*

Apparatus

53:3 “contempt” (*bwsrn*) is the nominal equivalent of the verb “to despise” (cf. below and 37:22; 49:7).

53:5 “profaned” in the Tg derives from *hll* in the MT, but with a distinctive meaning (cf. BDB, pp. 319, 320 and Winton Thomas, p. 85).

“handed over” (from *msr*) is inspired by “chastisement” (*mwsr*) in the MT.

“peace” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 345). “His” is replaced by “the” in B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus and Ms. Jews’ College.

“in” represents the same preposition translated “with” in the RSV (*b*).

“us” represents “to us” in both texts.

53:7 “which” is present in the Tg, and supplied in the RSV.

“who” is present in all of the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211. The omission is taken as an accommodation to the MT.

53:8 “From” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 350).

53:9 “possessions” (on the second occasion) becomes “frauds” (cf. 59:3) in B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College. The Antwerp Polyglot reads “foolish things”. The latter variant represents accommodation to the MT in language which is not characteristic of the Tg. But the former may be preferred, with the reading of B.M. 2211 explained in terms of dittography. In that the previous occurrence of “possessions” is in the determined state, however, the reading of B.M. 2211 is better retained.

53:10 “it was” is the reading of the Tg, and supplied in the RSV.

“to cleanse” (*ldk h*) in the Tg represents the verb which means “to bruise” (*dkw*) in the MT.

53:11 “from” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 353).

“subject” is the verbal equivalent of the noun “slavery” earlier in the verse.

53:12 “for him”: all the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211 read “for his sake” (cf. v. 4). Stenning, p. 180, accepts the majority attestation. The stylistic consideration of 53:4 is not conclusive, however, since the syntax is somewhat different, and the sort of forgiveness described is distinctive. For these reasons, the evidence of B.M. 2211 might be preferred.

54:3 “south” and “north” may be legitimately geographical renderings of the MT, in that “east” may be taken as straight ahead (when one is “oriented”, as we still say), with “south” to the right and “north” to the left. But “south” in the Tg (*drwm*) also permits of some word play with “Rome” (*rwmy*) in v. 1.

shall increase sons and daughters, they shall prolong days; those who perform the law of the LORD shall prosper in his pleasure; 53.11 from the slavery of the Gentiles he shall deliver their soul, they shall see the retribution of their adversaries. They shall be satisfied with the plunder of their kings; by his wisdom shall he make innocents to be accounted innocent, to subject many to the law; and he shall beseech concerning their sins. 53.12 Then I will divide him the plunder of many peoples, and he shall divide the spoil, the possessions of strong fortresses; because he handed over his soul to the death, and subjected the rebels to the law; yet he will beseech concerning the sins of many, and to the rebels it shall be forgiven for him.

CHAPTER 54

54.1 Sing, O *Jerusalem* who was as a barren woman who did not bear; shout in singing and exult, [you who were] as a woman who did not become pregnant! For the children of desolate *Jerusalem* will be more than the children of *inhabited Rome*, says the LORD. 54.2 Enlarge the place of your camping, and cause the cities of your land to be inhabited; hold not back, increase the people of your armies and strengthen your rulers. 54.3 For you will be strengthened to the south and to the north, and your sons will possess peoples and will cause desolate cities to be inhabited. 54.4 Fear not, for you will not be ashamed; be not confounded, for you will not be put to shame; for you will forget the shame of your youth, and the reproaches of your widowhood you will remember no more. 54.5 For your Maker is your husband, the LORD of hosts is his name; and the Holy One of Israel is your Redeemer, the God of the whole earth he is called. 54.6 For the Shekhinah of the LORD has summoned [you] like a wife forsaken and distressed in spirit, like a wife of youth who is cast off, says your God. 54.7 “In a little anger I forsook you, but with great compassion I will bring your exiles near. 54.8 In a

Notes

emphasize the triumph of the Messiah (cf. 52:13-15) at the expense of “*all the kingdoms*” (v. 3a; cf. vv. 7, 11, 12). The enemies are to be put in the position of Israel when the Shekhinah was removed (v. 3b). But the sufferings of Israel are to be relieved because the Messiah will pray effectively (vv. 4, 6, 7, 12), and even “*build the sanctuary*” again (v. 5a). The reference to the Messiah in 28:5 contrasts the messianic régime to that of the dissolute priest; the present reference takes the perspective of a period after A.D. 70. Adherence to the Messiah’s “*words*” (v. 5), which teach the law (vv. 10-12), is to be the engine of Israel’s new prosperity (v. 10). The actual rebuilding of the Temple was a reward promised to Israel along with the Messiah and the defeat of Rome during the Tannaitic period (cf. Pesahim 5a). The present interpretation would seem to fit easily within such a period (cf. Humbert [1911]; Aytoun [1921-1922]; Koch [1972]; Chilton [1982]). Although there is no reference to anything like the suffering of the Messiah, imagery which was applied to Jesus in the course of Christian mission (cf. 1 Peter 2:22, 24, 25 and Hooker [1959]), neither is there any attempt to claim the Messiah did not “*hand[ed]* over his soul to the death” (v. 12). Such an attempt would probably have been made if the purpose of the interpretation was to deny that the Messiah should die, as Jesus had. It would appear that such Christian claims were not in mind. Rather, the point of the phrase is probably that the Messiah risked his very life for the sake of his ministry; that appears to be the sense in which Is. 53:12 is applied to the hero Phinehas (cf. Numbers 25:13) in *Sifre* (§ 131). As in the case of the Messiah of the *Psalms of Solomon* (cf. 17:27-29 and Tg Isaiah 11 in the Notes), the Targumic Messiah is a zealous victor, a guardian of the righteous (vv. 8, 9).

54:1-54:17 The military promise to “*Jerusalem*” is said to be at the expense of “*inhabited Rome*” (vv. 1, 2); as is the case in 34:9, the overt reference to Rome is itself probably not representative of the most primitive Targumic usage, but it betrays an awareness of the earliest perspective of the Tg. Indeed, v. 6 assumes that the Shekhinah has departed, but v. 8 anticipates its early restoration (cf. also v. 7). “*Jerusalem*” is innovatively addressed again

brief hour, for a time, I took up the face of my Shekhinah from you, but with everlasting benefits which do not cease I will have compassion on you, says the LORD, your Redeemer. 54.9 This is like the *days* of Noah *before* me: as I swore *by my Memra* that the waters of *the flood which were in the days of Noah* should no more go over the earth, so I have sworn that *my anger* will not *turn* upon you and *I* will not rebuke you. 54.10 For the mountains may *pass* and the hills *be split*, but my *goodness* shall not *pass* from you, *Jerusalem*, and my covenant of peace shall not *be cast away*, says *he* who is *about to have* compassion on you, says the LORD. 54.11 O *needy one, suffering mortification, city concerning which the peoples say it will not be comforted*, behold I am setting your *pavement* stones in antimony, and I will lay your foundations with *good stones*. 54.12 I will make your *wood as pearls* and your gates of carbuncles, and all your border of precious stones. 54.13 All your sons *shall be taught in the law of the LORD*, and great *shall be* the prosperity of your sons. 54.14 In *innocence* you shall be

Apparatus

54:9 “*days*” is the reading of the Tg, while the MT and the LXX have “*water*” (cf. Young III, p. 365 and Ziegler, p. 325). “*that the waters*”: the sense of the two texts is the same, but the syntax of the present rendering is closer to the Tg.

An infinitive construction is used in the MT. The same observation applies to the syntax which follows.

“*sworn*”; “*by my Memra*” is added in B.M. 1470, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Reuchlinianus.

“*upon*” renders the same preposition (‘ל’) in both texts.

54:10 “*be split*”: the MT reads “*shake*”. Plausibly, and probably secondarily, Reuchlinianus (in which there is a substantial marginal addition) corrects the text to “*cease*”, which avoids the possible confusion with the other meaning of the verb (“*be saved*”). The margin of Reuchlinianus reads as follows:

Even if the virtues of the patriarchs, who are like the mountains, should pass, and the righteousness of the matriarchs, who are like the hills, should cease, my goodness shall not pass from you, congregation of Israel, and the covenant of my peace shall not cease; the LORD, who is about to have compassion on you, speaks with an oath.

54:11 “*needy*” is a possible rendering of the MT (cf. BDB, p. 776).

54:12 “*as*” is derived from the first letter in “*agate*” (*kdkd*, see the RSV, cf. Young III, p. 368), a somewhat unusual term for the meturgeman. The reading is changed to “*in*” (*b*, for *k*) in Reuchlinianus, Ms. Jews’ College, and the Second Rabbinic Bible.

54:13 “*shall be*” (on the first occasion) is present in B.M. 2211 and 1474, while it is omitted in the other witnesses and supplied in the RSV. The second usage (which is in the singular) seems to be unanimously attested in the Targum, although the MT omits it.

54:14 “*be far*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 368).

“*come*” is an innovative rendering of “*draw near*” in the MT.

54:15 “*Behold,*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 368).

“*exiles*” is inspired by the use of the verb *gwr* in the MT (cf. BDB, pp. 157, 158). Curiously, Young III, p. 368, renders the verb as “*gather*”, somewhat as the meturgeman does, with the infinitive taken to mean “*surely*”.

54:16 “*the smith*”: cf. 44:12. The Aramaic term particularly refers to the worker who prepares and maintains fire in the forge.

54:17 “*declare a sinner*”: cf. 50:9 in both texts.

55:1 “*price*” (*dmyn*) is innovative, in that the term it more literally renders (*mhyr*) comes second in the MT (cf. van Zijl, p. 46, who gives a misleading impression).

“*not with*” (*l’b*) is accommodated to the MT (*bl’*) in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Ms. Jews’ College, and Reuchlinianus.

55:2 “*your soul*” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 374).

55:5 “*for the sake of*” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 374).

established; be far from oppression, for you shall not fear; and from *breaking*, for it will not *come* to you. 54.15 Behold, *the exiles of your people shall surely be gathered to you at the end; the kings of the peoples who are gathered to distress you, Jerusalem, shall be cast in your midst.* 54.16 Behold, I have created *the smith who blows fire in coals, and produces a vessel for its worth.* I have also created *the destroyer* to destroy; 54.17 no weapon that is *prepared* against you, *Jerusalem*, will prosper, and you shall declare *a sinner* every tongue that rises against you in judgment. This is the heritage of the servants of the LORD, and their *innocence before me*, says the LORD.”

CHAPTER 55

55.1 “Ho, every one who *wishes to learn, let him come and learn;* and he who has no money, come, *hear and learn!* Come, *hear and learn,* without *price* and *not with mammon, teaching which is better than wine and milk.* 55.2 Why do you spend *your* money for that which is not *to eat*, and your labour for that which does not satisfy? *Attend to my Memra* diligently, and eat what is good, and your soul shall delight itself in *that which is fat.* 55.3 Incline your ear, and *attend to my Memra;* hear, that your soul may live; and I will make with you an everlasting covenant, the sure *benefits* of David. 55.4 Behold, I *appointed* him a *prince to the peoples, a king and a ruler over all the kingdoms.* 55.5 Behold, *people* that you know not shall *serve you*, and people that knew you not shall *run to offer tribute* to you, for the sake of the LORD your God, and of the Holy One of Israel, for he has glorified you. 55.6 Seek *the fear of the LORD*

Notes

in vv. 10, 15, 17 in a way which promises the speedy vindication of the desolate city. Such passages may reflect the sort of interpretation which supported such movements as the Bar Kokhba revolt.

55:1-55:13 V. 4 would appear to be an allusion to the messianic kingdom, an interpretation which was occasioned by the reference to David in v. 3. The mention of “tribute” being offered in v. 5 confirms this appearance (cf. 16:1). (The reference to “mammon” in v. 1 is quite consistent with the early provenience of the interpretation, cf.

while *you live, beseech before him while you live*; 55.7 let the wicked forsake his *wicked way* and man *who robs his conceptions*: let him return to *the service of the LORD*, that he may have mercy *upon* him, and to *the fear of our God*, for he will abundantly pardon. 55.8 For not *as* my thoughts are your thoughts, neither are your ways *correct as the ways of my goodness*, says the LORD. 55.9 For *just as* the heavens, *which* are higher than the earth, so are *the ways of my goodness more correct* than your ways, and my thoughts *prove (to be) better planned* than your thoughts. 55.10 For as the rain and the snow, *which* come down from the heavens, and *it is not possible for them that they should return thither*, but water the earth, *increasing* it and making it sprout, giving seeds, *enough* for the sower and bread, *enough* for the eater, 55.11 so is the word

Apparatus

55:9 “*just as*” is the reading of the Tg. “*As*” is supplied in the RSV.

“*prove [to be] better planned*” derives from the same root as the term here rendered “*correct*”. Indeed, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot accept the variant which has the latter meaning, as does Stenning (p. 187, following Lagarde). Van Zijl, p. 206, however, is surely correct in following the more difficult reading.

55:10 “*seeds*” represents the collective phrase, “*son of the seed*”, in the Tg.

55:11 “*accomplishes*” and “*prospers*” are innovative in the Tg in the sense that the setting of the MT is more strictly eschatological (cf. the comment of Young III, p. 384), although perfect forms are used in the Hebrew text.

55:12 “*their*” is supplied in the RSV, and present in the Tg.

55:13 “*name*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 380).

56:2 “*a son of man*” (*br 'nš*) follows the reading of the MT quite exactly (*bn 'dm*). The reading is changed to “*the son of the man*” (the more usual idiom) in B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, and Reuchlinianus.

“*from*” is the reading of both texts.

56:3 “*son of Gentiles*” (or: “*of peoples*”) renders “*the foreigner’s son*” in the MT.

“*like*”: this reading is augmented to “*reckoned as*” in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews’ College.

56:4 “*with*” represents *b*, which appears in both texts.

“*covenants*” is put in the singular in B.M. 1474, and by Stenning (p. 186); cf. also v. 6.

56:5 “*them*”: the MT reads “*him*”, although the “*a*” scroll from Qumran agrees with the Tg (and cf. the earlier usage in both texts).

56:6 “*the sons of the*” renders both texts.

“*from profaning it*”: cf. v. 2.

“*hold fast*”: both the MT and the Tg employ plural forms of the participle here.

56:7 “*the*” (on the first occasion), predictably, becomes “*my*” in B.M. 1474 (cf. its singular “*covenant*” in vv. 4, 6 [according to Stenning, p. 189]), the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Reuchlinianus.

“*go up*” is well attested as “*be taken up*” (in B.M. 1474, the Second Rabbinic Bible, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College).

“*for*” (on the first occasion) is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 388).

“*will be*” is implied in B.M. 2211 (but cf. the margin, which has the passive participle, “*is called*”). All the other witnesses follow the MT by reading “*shall be called*”.

56:9 “*who were gathered*” is inspired by the end of v. 8 in the MT (cf. the RSV margin).

“*food*” is a verbal form of “*to eat*” (or “*devour*”, as in the RSV), but the infinitive is used as a substantive in the Tg.

56:11 “*have a strong appetite*” renders an idiom also in the MT (cf. Young III, p. 397 n. 18).

“*they do not know satiety*” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 394), although in the Targumic syntax the last term appears as an infinitive with *l* preceding.

“*who do evil*” is arrived at by a simple change of pointing of the term “*shepherds*” in the MT (cf. Winton Thomas, p. 59).

“*Israel*”: “*they come*” is added in Reuchlinianus. The reading is evidently inspired from the beginning of v. 12 in the MT.

56:12 “*They say,*” is the reading of the Tg, while it is supplied in the RSV.

“*us*”: cf. the RSV margin.

“*guzzle*” (*sb'*) is closely related to the verb which follows in the MT (*sb'*).

of my goodness that goes forth *before* me; it is not possible that it shall return *before* me empty, but accomplishes that which I *please*, and prospers in the thing for which I sent it. 55.12 For you shall go out in joy *from among the Gentiles*, and be led in peace *to your land*; the mountains and the hills before you shall *shout* in singing, and all the trees of the field shall *clap with their branches*. 55.13 Instead of *the wicked* shall *the righteous be established*; and instead of *the sinners* shall *those who fear sin be established*; and it shall be *before* the LORD for a name, for an everlasting sign which shall not *cease*."

CHAPTER 56

56.1 Thus says the LORD: "Keep judgment and do righteousness, for my salvation is near to come, and my *virtue* to be revealed. 56.2 Blessed is the man who will do this, and a son of man who will hold it fast, who *will keep the sabbath* from profaning it, and *will keep his hands* from doing any evil." 56.3 Let not a son of *Gentiles* who has *been added to the people of the LORD* say, "The LORD will surely separate me from his people"; and let not the eunuch say, "Behold, I am *like a dry tree*." 56.4 For thus says the LORD: "To the eunuchs who keep *the days of the sabbaths that are mine*, who *are pleased* with the things I *wish* and hold fast my covenants, 56.5 I will give them in my *sanctuary* and within *the land of my Shekhinah's house* a *place* and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give *them* an everlasting name which shall not *cease*. 56.6 And the sons of the *Gentiles* who *have been added to the people of the LORD*, to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD, and to be his servants, every one who *will keep the sabbath* from profaning it, and hold fast my covenants— 56.7 these I will bring to *the holy mountain*, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their *holy sacrifices* will *even go up* for *[my] pleasure* on my altar; for my *sanctuary* will be a house of prayer for all the peoples. 56.8 Thus says the *LORD God* who *is about to* gather the outcasts of Israel, I will yet *bring near their exiles, to gather them*." 56.9 All *the kings of the peoples* who *were gathered to distress you, Jerusalem*, will be cast in your midst; they will be food for the beasts of the field—every beast of the forest will eat to satiety from them. 56.10 All *their* watchmen are blind, they are all without *any* knowledge; dumb dogs, they cannot bark; *slumbering*, laying down, loving to *sleep*. 56.11 The dogs have a *strong* appetite; they do not know satiety. And they *who do evil* do not know *[how]* to understand; they have all *gone into exile, each his own way*, each *to plunder the mammon of Israel*. 56.12 *They say*, "Come, and let us *guzzle wine*, let us *be drunk with old wine*; and *our feast of tomorrow* will be *better than this day's, very great*."

Notes

5:23 in the Notes.) Along with this military triumph, the motives of a return to Temple "service" (v. 7), and from "among the *Gentiles*" (v. 12), are—as usual—also prominent.

56:1–56:12 The particular association in the Tg between the "*Shekhinah's house*" and "*Gentiles*" (vv. 3-7) is striking, especially in the context of Jesus' reputed citation of v. 7 during his occupation of the Temple (cf. especially Luke 19:46, as cited in the Apparatus, but also Matthew 21:13; Mark 11:17). But the emphasis of the passage falls on the return of "*exiles*" (v. 8) and on the concomitant victory of "*Jerusalem*" over the hapless Gentile "*kings*" (v. 9, cf. 54:15b). The vindication which is to come, however, also involves judgment on leaders, who use the occasion of exile to "*plunder*" (v. 11, cf. 31:2).

CHAPTER 57

57.1 The righteous *die*, and no one lays *my fear* to heart; and men of *recompenses* of mercy are gathered, while *they do* not understand. For from *before* the evil *which is about to come* the righteous *are* gathered, 57.2 *they* will enter into peace; they will rest in *the place of* their bedroom who *perform* his *law*. 57.3 But you, draw near hither, *people of the generation whose deeds are evil, whose plant was from a holy plant, and they are adulterers and harlots*. 57.4 Of whom are you making sport? *And before* whom *will* you open *your* mouth and *continue speaking great things*? Are you not children of *a rebel*, *the* offspring of deceit, 57.5 you who *serve idols* under every green tree and *sacrifice* children in the valleys, under the clefts of the rocks? 57.6 Among the smooth *rock* of the valley is your portion; *even there* they are your lot; to them you have poured out drink offerings, you have brought offerings. Shall *my Memra* *repent* for these things? 57.7 Upon a high and lofty mountain you have set *the place of* your *camping*, and thither you went up to offer sacrifice. 57.8 Behind the door and the

Apparatus

57:1 “*die*”: both this verb and the preceding adjective are plural in the Tg.
 “mercy” renders the equivalent of the noun rendered “devout” in the RSV.

57:2 “his” actually corresponds to the MT, in that the final participial phrase is cast in the singular (unlike the Tg).

57:3 “*harlots*”: the MT presents the feminine, singular, imperfect form of the cognate verb; the Tg presents a participle.

57:6 “*rock*”: “stones” is supplied in the RSV. On the difficulty of the MT, cf. Young III, pp. 402, 403.
 “poured out” (*nsykt*) is the reading of all the witnesses except B.M. 2211, which reads “taken” (*nsh*) as the result of scribal miscopying.

57:8 “*covenant*”: “bargain” in the RSV is supplied.
 “*place*”: the MT reads “hand” (cf. Young III, p. 405).

57:9 “*the kingdom*”: cf. the RSV margin.
 “*deeds*”: apart from B.M. 2211, “good” is added in all the extant witnesses.

57:10 “you promised *to repent*”: syntactically, the clause is not innovative. The First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews’ College manifest an attempt to make good the omission from the MT, and Stenning, p. 190, approves of the fuller texts. But the clause which follows in the Tg shows that the meturgeman decided to develop the idea of the MT in a creative way. The sense of the interpretation is that the promise to repent came easily during difficult times, and was forgotten during prosperity.

57:11 “*lay (my fear) upon your heart*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, pp. 405, 406).
 “*if you repented*”: “to the law” is added in B.M. 1474 and the Second Rabbinic Bible; “to my law” is a marginal reading in B.M. 2211. These variants are perfectly understandable as expansions which cohere with the idiom of the Tg (cf. 26:10; 42:14). But the inconsistent nature of their attestation suggests they are secondary (*pace* Stenning, pp. 190, 191).

57:13 “all” is the reading of both texts.

57:14 “he will say” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 409).
 “turn” renders both texts.

57:15 “*broken*” and “*humble*” are in the first instance plural in the Tg, while the formation of the MT is in the singular. Thereafter, both texts employ plural constructions.

57:16 “*be*” represents the actual usage of the verb “to be” in the Tg; it is auxillary in the RSV.
 “*the breathing beings*” might more literally be rendered “breaths” in both texts.

57:17 “*removed . . .*”: “I” (as the subject of “hid”) and “my face” are supplied renderings in the RSV (cf. Young III, p. 409); the form in the MT is infinitive.

doorpost you have set *the symbol of your idols*; you resembled a woman who was beloved by her husband and strayed after strangers, you have made wide *the place of your camping*; and you have made a *covenant* for yourself with them, you have loved *the place of their bedroom*, you have *chosen a place*. 57.9 When you performed the law for yourself, you prospered in the kingdom, and when you multiplied for yourself deeds, your armies were many; you sent your messengers far off, and humbled the strong ones of the peoples to Sheol. 57.10 In the length of your ways you promised to repent; you increased many possessions, and so you did not hope to repent. 57.11 Whom did you dread and before whom fear, so that you continued to speak lies, and did not remember my service, did not lay my fear upon your heart? Have I not given you respite for a long time, that if you repented—and before me you did not repent? 57.12 I have told you that good deeds are virtues for you, but you increased for yourself evil deeds which will not profit you. 57.13 Cry out, if now the deeds of your deceit with which you were labouring from your childhood will deliver you! The wind will carry them all off, they will be for nothing. But he who trusts in my *Memra* shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain.

57.14 And he will say, “Teach, and exhort, turn the heart of the people to a correct way, remove the obstruction of the wicked from the way of the congregation of my people.” 57.15 For thus says the high and lofty One who dwells in the heavens, whose name is Holy; in the height he dwells, and his *Shekhinah* is holy. He promises to deliver the broken in heart and the humble of spirit, to establish the spirit of the humble, and to help the heart of the broken. 57.16 “For I will not so avenge for ever, nor will my anger always be (so); for I am about to restore the spirits of the dead, and the breathing beings I have made. 57.17 Because of the sins of their mammon, which they robbed, my anger was upon them, I smote them, removed my *Shekhinah* from them and cast them out; I scattered their exiles because they went astray after the fantasy of their heart.

Notes.

57:1–57:13 The phrase “recompenses of mercy” (v. 1) is reminiscent of a Mishnaic usage, attributed to Simon the Just, a member of the ancient “Great Assembly” (cf. Avoth 1.2, the phrase there is *gmylwt hsdym*, and it is associated with “law” [htwrh] and “service” [h'bwdh]), and the language of v. 3 also accords with that of the Tannaitic framework of the Tg (cf. 5:7; 6:13; 17:10). On the other hand, the harsh change of tack in the book of Isaiah leads to a reversal of the imagery of womanhood in v. 8: the prosperous mother of 54:1 has become a wayward wife. (The surprising ease with which this transition is effected may remind us of the apparently Amoraic reference to feminine idols at 44:13. In this case, the usage would be seen as part of the Amoraic stratum of the passage, cf. vv. 18, 19 below). “Possessions” are named as the reason for the failure “to repent” (v. 10), even though experience had taught the value of the law (v. 9), and despite God’s prolonged offer of repentance (vv. 11, 12; cf. 26:10; 42:14).

57:14–57:21 A movement of restorative teaching is announced from v. 14, directed to “the congregation”, and directed from God, who dwells “in the height”, where the *Shekhinah* is (v. 15). The perspective seems to have shifted to a post-nationalistic experience; the *Shekhinah* appears more definitively to have been removed (v. 17)

57.18 *The way of their repentance is disclosed before me, and I will forgive them; I will have compassion on them* and requite them with consolations, and those who mourn them. 57.19 The one who creates speech of lips in the mouth of every man says, Peace will be done for the righteous, who have kept my law from the beginning, and peace will be done for the penitent, who have repented to my law recently, says the LORD; and I will forgive them. 57.20 But the wicked are like the tossing sea which seeks to rest and it cannot, and its waters disturb mire and dirt. 57.21 There is no peace, says my God, for the wicked.”

CHAPTER 58

58.1 “*Prophet*, call with *your* throat, spare not, lift up your voice like *the sound of* the trumpet; declare to my people their *apostasies*, to the house of Jacob their *sins*. 58.2 Yet *before* me they seek *teaching* daily, as if they wished to know ways which are *correct before me*, as if they were a *people* that did *virtue* and were not forsaken from the judgment of their God; they ask *before* me a *true judgment*, as if they wished to draw near to *the fear of the LORD*. 58.3 *They say*, ‘Why have we fasted, as is disclosed before you? Why have we afflicted ourselves, as is known before you?’ *Prophet*, say to them: Behold, in the day of your fasts you *seek* your own pleasures, and bring near all

Apparatus

57:18 “and those who mourn” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 409). The RSV translators have transposed the beginning of v. 19 in the MT to the end of v. 18.

57:19 “The one who creates...of lips” renders both texts (cf. the last remark, and Young III, p. 409).

“recently”: as at 33:13, *qryb* in the Tg is arrived at by a word play on *qrwb* in the MT.

“the LORD”: “the prophets of” precedes in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College.

58:1 “call with (*your*) throat” is also the reading of the MT (cf. Young III, p. 415).

58:3 “afflicted” renders both texts.

“seek”: the MT has “find”.

“bring near” renders both texts.

58:4 “for quarrel and for contention” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 417).

“You will not fast” represents both texts.

“*their*” is the reading of B.M. 2211 alone. In this case, it is contradicted by both B.M. 1470 and B.M. 1474 (as well as the other extant witnesses), so that the reading “*your*” might be preferred.

58:5 “afflict”: cf. v. 3.

58:7 “*nurture*” (*prns*) derives by word play from “share” (*prs*) in the MT.

“*your*” is attested only by B.M. 2211 and 1470.

58:11 “in” renders the same preposition taken as “with” in the RSV. The following words are not greatly innovative, cf. the RSV margin and Young III, pp. 422, 423 (through n. 12).

58:12 “they will build from you” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, pp. 422, 424, 425).

“*establishes*” derives from the same root as “raise”, which appears earlier in the verse.

your *stumblings*. 58.4 Behold, you fast only for quarrel and for contention and to hit with *the wicked fist*. You will not fast *with fasts* like *these* to make *their* voice to be heard on high. 58.5 Is this *it*, the fast that I *take pleasure in*, a day for a man to afflict himself? Is it to bow down his head like a rush *that is bowed down*, and to *lodge upon* sackcloth and ashes? *Do* you call this a fast, and a day *that is a pleasure before* the LORD? 58.6 Is not this *it*, the fast that I *take pleasure in*: *disperse* a wicked *congregation*, *undo bands*, *writings of perverted judgment*, let *those who were robbed* depart free, and *remove* every *perverted judgment*? 58.7 *Will you not nurture* from your bread the hungry, and bring *needy outcasts* into the *midst of your house*; when you shall see *the naked*, cover him, and not *suppress your eye* from *a relative of your flesh*? 58.8 Then shall your light *be revealed* as the dawn, and *the healing of your stroke* go up speedily; your *virtues* shall go before you, *in glory before* the LORD you *shall be* gathered. 58.9 Then you shall *pray*, and the LORD will *accept your prayer*; you shall *beseech before him* and he will *carry out your request*. If you take away from your *midst perversion of judgment*, pointing with the finger and speaking *sayings of oppression*, 58.10 if your soul *is kindled before* the hungry and satisfies the soul of the afflicted, then shall your light arise in *the darkness* and your gloom *will be* as the noonday. 58.11 And the LORD will *lead* you continually, and satisfy your soul in *the years of drought*, and your *body will live in everlasting life*; and your soul shall be *full of pleasures* like a *channeled garden* which is watered, like a spring of water, whose waters *cease not*. 58.12 And they will build from you ancient ruins; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations; *they will call* you the *one who establishes the correct way*, the restorer of *the wicked to the law*. 58.13 If you turn back your foot from the sabbath, from doing your pleasure on my holy day, and *celebrate* the sabbath *with delights*, honour the holy day of the LORD; if you give honour *before* it, not going your own way, or *supplying* your own pleasure, or talking *sayings of oppression*; 58.14 then you shall take delight *before* the LORD, and he will make you *dwell upon* the *strongholds* of the earth; *he* will feed you with *the fruits of* the heritage of Jacob your father, for *by the Memra of the LORD it is so decreed*."

Notes

than it is expected soon to return (cf. 56:5). Vv. 18, 19 particularly suit the Amoraic framework of the Tg (cf. 21:12; 33:13). In Berakhoth 34b, the Amora R. Johanan interprets Is. 57:19 in a similar way (cf. Chilton [1982]). As in 6:10 and 53:5, however, the old practice of understanding healing in terms of forgiveness is maintained in vv. 18, 19.

58:1-58:14 The particular features of the congregation's life which, in the interpretation, occasion God's wrath are false, hypocritical teaching (v. 2) and "perverted judgment" (vv. 6, 9, cf. 29:21; the verb "to turn aside" becomes "perverted" as a participle). The imagery of the promise, "everlasting life" where the soul is "full of pleasures" like a *channeled garden* (v. 11) is already familiar to us (cf. 1:30; 4:3; 32:20 ["irrigation" in the last passage is the same term here rendered "channeled"]). Indeed, such imagery should probably not at all be thought of as peculiar to the Amoraic meturgeman, to whose work we called attention above. The restored community will truly establish "the correct way" (v. 12, cf. v. 2), and dwell in "strongholds" (v. 14).

CHAPTER 59

59.1 Behold, *it is not from shortening of hand before the LORD that you are not saved, nor because it is difficult before him to hear that your prayer is not accepted*; 59.2 but your sins have made a separation between you and your God, and your iniquities have deserved the removal of the face of my Shekhinah from you, so that he does not accept your prayer. 59.3 For your hands are involved with innocent blood and your fingers with sins; your lips speak deceit, your tongue meditates frauds. 59.4 No one prays in truth, no one goes to law with faithfulness; *they* rely on nothing and speak deceit, they hasten and bring forth from their heart sayings of oppression. 59.5 Behold, [they are] as poisonous adders' eggs, and as webs which the spider weaves; whoever eats their eggs dies, and *they* warm and bring forth poisonous, wounding serpents. 59.6 Behold, as the webs of a spider which are not suitable for covering oneself, so there is no profit in the deeds of the wicked. Their deeds are deeds of oppression, and deceitful labour is in their hands. 59.7 Their feet run to do what is evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their conceptions are conceptions of oppression, spoil and breaking are in their highways. 59.8 The way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their going; they have made their roads crooked, no one who goes in them knows peace. 59.9 Therefore judgment is far from us, and virtues do not meet us; we look for light, and behold, darkness, and for brightness, and behold as in the gloom we walk. 59.10 We grope for walls like the blind, we grope like those who have no eyes; we stumble at noon just as those who stumble in the gloom, the world is shut on our faces just as the graves are shut on the faces of the dead. 59.11 We are dejected before our enemies who are gathered against us like bears, we all moan and moan like doves; we look for

Apparatus

59:1 “difficult” might also be rendered “dull”, as in the MT/RSV, but the change in context within the Tg demands an alteration of construal.

59:2 “*my Shekhinah*” becomes “the Shekhinah” in B.M. 1474, the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Reuchlinianus.

59:4 “*prays*”: the MT reads “calls” (cf. Young III, p. 429).
“*they*” is innovative, in that infinitive forms are used in the MT (cf. Young III, p. 431).

59:8 “*them*”: the MT reads “it”.

59:10 “*the dead*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young II, p. 433).

59:13 “*rebelled*” renders both texts, cf. 1:2 and van Zijl, p. 112.
“*against*” renders *b* in both texts.
“*their*” in the Tg is inspired by what the meturgeman took to be the use of the third person singular pronoun in the MT (cf. Young III, p. 436 n. 16).

59:15 “*plundered*” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 435), and particularly accords with the usual diction of the Tg.

59:16 “*person*” is usually rendered “man” in this translation. The present diction is chosen to distinguish *nš* from the usage of *gbr* earlier.
“*saved*” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 437).

59:18 “*recompenses*” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 439, and van Zijl, p. 39), but it may be considered innovative in view of 35:4. The same term appears as “*requital*” below, in accordance with the diction of the RSV.

59:21 “*sons*” (on several occasions): the MT uses the term “seed” (cf. Young III, p. 439, and Wilcox [1979]).

judgment, but there is none; for salvation, but it is far from us. 59.12 For our *sins* are numerous before you, and our iniquities testify against us; for our *sins* are disclosed to us, and we know our iniquities; 59.13 we have rebelled and lied against the *Memra* of the LORD, and we have turned away from following the service of our God, and we were speaking *deceit* and *error*, hastening and bringing forth from their heart lying words. 59.14 Judgment is turned back, and virtue stands afar off; for those who do the truth have stumbled in the public square, and those who accomplish *faithfulness* are not able to be revealed. 59.15 Those who do the truth are hidden, and those who depart from evil are plundered. It was disclosed before the LORD, and it was an evil before him that there was no judgment. 59.16 It was disclosed before him, and there was no man whose *deeds* were good, and it was known before him, and there was no person who would arise and beseech concerning them; then by his strong arm he saved them, and by the *Memra* of his pleasure he helped them. 59.17 He will be revealed to do *virtues* for his people, strength and salvation he will bring by his *Memra* to those who fear him, to do [them], to take retribution in strength from the adversaries of his people, and he will return vengeance to his enemies. 59.18 He is master of recompenses, recompense he will pay, retribution to his adversaries, requital to his enemies; to the *islands* he will render requital. 59.19 So they shall fear the name of the LORD from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun; for those who distress will come like the overflowing of the *Euphrates* river, by the *Memra* of the LORD they shall be plundered. 59.20 “And he will come to Zion as Redeemer, to return the rebels of the house of Jacob to the law, says the LORD. 59.21 And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the LORD, my *holy* spirit which is upon you, and the words of my *prophecy* which I have put in your mouth, shall not pass out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your *sons*, or out of the mouth of your *sons' sons*, says the LORD, from this time forth and for evermore.”

Notes

59:1-59:21 The perspective of the Shekhinah's removal, and the consequent uselessness of prayer, is the fundamental perspective still (vv. 1, 2, 11-13, cf. 57:17). But, along with this theological aspect of the present situation, there is also profound moral turpitude (vv. 4f., 13f., cf. particularly v. 5 with 30:6 and v. 6 with 31:2, for the usage of previously introduced turns of phrase). The condition is, indeed, so extreme as to be likened to death (v. 10). In stark contrast to the promise of chapter 53, there is no one to intercede (v. 16). Messianic vindication is here replaced by God's immediate action (vv. 16f.) as “*master of recompenses*” (v. 18, cf. 35:4). These indications that we are dealing primarily with the Amoraic meturgeman are confirmed by the simile in v. 19 (cf. 48:18 in the Notes, but also the remark on “*sons*” in the Apparatus, in respect of v. 21).

CHAPTER 60

60.1 Arise, shine, *Jerusalem*; for *the time of your salvation* has come, and the glory of the LORD *will be revealed* upon you. 60.2 For behold, darkness shall cover *the earth*, and *gloom the kingdoms*; but the *Shekhinah* of the LORD *will settle in you*, and his glory will be *revealed* upon you. 60.3 And *peoples* shall come to your light, and kings *before* your brightness. 60.4 Lift up, *Jerusalem*, your eyes round about, and see all *the sons of the people of your exiles who are gathered together*, they come to your *midst*; your sons shall come from far, and your daughters shall be carried on hips. 60.5 Then you shall see and be radiant, and *you* shall fear and your heart widen *in fear of sins*; because the *wealth of the west is transferred* to you, *the possessions of the peoples* shall be brought into your *midst*. 60.6 The *caravans of the Arabians* shall cover you *around*, the *dromedaries* of Midian and Ephah; all those from Sheba will come. They shall be *burdened with* gold and frankincense, and *those who come with them* will be *declaring* the praises of the LORD. 60.7 All the sheep of *the Arabians* shall be gathered into your *midst*, the rams of *Nebat* shall minister to you; they will be *offered up for pleasure* upon my altar, and I will glorify my glorious house. 60.8 Who are these that *come openly* like *swift clouds*, and (are) *not to be checked*? *The exiles of Israel, who are gathered and come to their land, even like doves which return to the midst of their windows!* 60.9 For *islands* shall wait for my *Memra*, *those who go down in ships of the sea—which spreads its sails first?*—to bring your sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, for the name of the LORD your God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because he has

Apparatus

60:4 “*hip(s)*” is also the reading of the MT (cf. BDB, p. 841).

60:5 “*widen*” represents both texts (cf. Young III, p. 443).
“*west*” represents a directional rendering of “*sea*” in the MT.

60:6 “*Ephah*”: the Tg actually uses a different word (*hwld*), but in reference to the same place (cf. Levy I, p. 258).

60:7 “*sheep*” renders both texts.
“*Nebat*”: the slight spelling change is no major innovation, but it would seem to refer to Nabatea (cf. Levy II, p. 85; Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 117).

60:10 “*sons of*” is the reading of both texts.

60:14 “*bent*” is slightly innovative in form and diction. The same verb is used at 58:5.

60:15 “*from generation to generation*” renders both texts, cf. 13:20 and BDB, pp. 189, 190.

60:16 “*plunder of their kings*”: cf. the LXX (Ziegler, p. 347) and Komlosh (1967) 19.

60:17 “[*appoint*]” represents a second sense of “*make*” (*ṣwy*), in order to construe the innovative syntax of the Tg.

60:18 “*spoil and breaking*”: cf. 59:7 and (more innovatively) 41:29.

60:19 “*nor even*”: with all the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211 and the Antwerp Polyglot (including B.M. 1470 and 1474), the emphatically negative *‘p l’* should be read here. B.M. 2211 has *‘p* alone.
“*by night*”: cf. the RSV margin.

60:21 “*pleasant plant*”: cf. 5:7. The latter term exactly corresponds to the MT root (*nṣr*, RSV: “*shoot*”), but innovation in respect of meaning is evident from the usage of the Tg elsewhere (cf. van Zijl, p. 122).

60:22 “*He that is small*”: the last word corresponds to “*smallest*” in the RSV/MT, the superlative rendering being interpretative.
“*thousand*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 456).

glorified you. 60.10 *The sons of Gentiles* shall build up your walls, and their kings shall minister to you; for in my wrath I smote you, but in my *pleasure* I will have mercy upon you. 60.11 Your gates shall be opened continually; day and night they shall not be shut; that men may bring into your *midst* the *possessions* of the *Gentiles*, with their kings *chained*. 60.12 For *any people* and kingdom that will not serve you, *Jerusalem*, shall perish; those *peoples* shall be utterly *destroyed*. 60.13 The glory of Lebanon shall be *brought* into your *midst*, cypresses, planes, and pines together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of the *dwelling* of my *Shekhinah* glorious. 60.14 The sons of those who *subjugated* you shall come bent into your *midst*; and all who used to *incite* you to anger shall bow down to *beseech* from you at your feet; they shall call you the City of the LORD, Zion with which the Holy One of Israel is pleased. 60.15 Whereas you have been forsaken and *cast out*, with no one passing through, I will make you *glorious* for ever, a *house* of joy from generation to generation. 60.16 You shall be *satisfied* with the *possessions* of the *Gentiles*, you shall be *indulged* with the *plunder* of their kings; and you shall know that I, the LORD, am your Saviour and your Redeemer, the *Strong* One of Jacob. 60.17 Instead of the bronze which they *plundered* from you, *Jerusalem*, I will bring gold, and instead of iron, I will bring silver, instead of wood, bronze, instead of stones, iron. I will make your *guardians* peace and [appoint] your *rulers* in *virtue*. 60.18 *Violence* shall no more be heard in your land, *spoil* and breaking within your border; they shall *celebrate* salvation upon your walls, and upon your gates they will be praising. 60.19 You shall no longer need the sun for light by day nor even the moon for brightness by night; but the LORD shall be your everlasting light, and your God will be your glory. 60.20 Your *kingdom* shall no more cease, nor your *glory* pass away; for the LORD shall be your everlasting light, and your days of mourning shall be ended. 60.21 Your people shall all be *virtuous*; they shall possess the land for ever, my *pleasant plant*, the work of my *might*, that I might be glorified. 60.22 *He* that is small among them shall become a thousand, and *he* that is faint a strong people: I am the LORD; in its time I will bring it.

Notes

60:1-60:22 The direct address to "Jerusalem", so prominent in chapters 54 and 56, is taken up again here (vv. 1, 4, 12, 17) and the Shekhinah is once again portrayed as soon to return (vv. 2, 13, cf. 56:5 in comparison with 57:17). Return from exile (vv. 4, 8) and wealth (vv. 5, 11, 16) are, as is typical in the Tg, associated with the cultic restoration. Less typically, there is particular reference to Arab "caravans" in vv. 6, 7, perhaps with specific allusion to Nabatean merchant activity (cf. "Nebat" in v. 7 and the Apparatus). The interpretation need not imply technically bedouin culture, which seems not to have emerged until the third century A.D. (cf. Rogerson [1978] 44, 45), but may simply presuppose Nabatean prosperity, whose influence was felt during the (probably Tannaitic) period of the meturgeman (cf. Starcky [1955], who refers specifically to v. 7 in the Tg on p. 85). (Reference is made to the generally commercial use of camels by Jeremias [1969] 31, and the history of Nabatea is sketched in Schürer [1, 1973] 575f. Starcky, p. 87, calls attention to the traditional use of camels among the Nabateans, and traces their history beyond A.D. 106; discussion of reference to them as Arabs is to be found both in Starcky and Schürer.) There are, however, also indications of Amoraic interpretation in the passage. V. 8 picks up language from 35:6, and v. 9 would appear to apply the same image as is used in 18:1 (albeit in a different way). On the other hand, the later verse is also reminiscent of 2:16; 23:1, 14, and the reference to "islands" would not appear to be Amoraic. Finally, the "pleasant plant" language is also early (v. 21, cf. 5:7).

CHAPTER 61

61.1 *The prophet said, A spirit of prophecy before the LORD God is upon me, because the LORD has exalted me to announce good tidings to the poor; he has sent me to strengthen the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, to those who are bound, Be revealed to light; 61.2 to proclaim the year of pleasure before the LORD, and the day of vengeance before our God; to comfort all those who mourn; 61.3 to confuse those who mourn in Zion—to give them a diadem instead of ashes, oil of joy instead of mourning, a praising spirit instead of their spirit which was dejected; that they may call them true princes, the people of the LORD, that he may be glorified. 61.4 They shall build up ancient ruins, they shall raise up former devastations; cities that were ruined shall be repaired, devastations of many generations. 61.5 Aliens shall stand and feed your flocks, the sons of Gentiles shall be your ploughmen and vinedressers, 61.6 but you shall be called the priests of the LORD, men shall speak of you as those who minister before our God; you shall eat the possessions of the Gentiles, and in their glory you shall be indulged. 61.7 Instead of your being ashamed and confounded, two for one the benefits I promised you I will bring to you, and the Gentiles will be*

Apparatus

61:1 “poor”: cf. the RSV margin.

61:3 “confuse”: Stenning, p. 205, follows the witnesses which accommodate to the MT, but Sperber, p. 121, accepts the reading of the British Museum manuscripts (2211 and 1474). The forms involved are so distinctive as to rule out an error in copying as the explanation of the unusual reading. The other witnesses simply seem to try to decode a difficult *hapax legomenon*.

61:4 “shall be repaired” is an innovation which is unique to B.M. 2211.

61:5 “sons of” is the reading of both texts.

61:6 “their glory” renders both texts.

“you shall be”: the form is passive or reflexive in both texts (cf. Young III, p. 463).

61:7 “confounded” (*‘cn’twn*) is the verbal equivalent of the root *klm*, which appears in the nominal form rendered “dis-honour” in the RSV.

“their”, “they”, and “theirs”: cf. the RSV margin.

61:9 “sons”: the reading of the MT is “seed” (cf. Young III, p. 463, 59:21 in the Apparatus).

61:10 “priest” (*khn*) is inspired from “decks” (*khn*) in the MT, which in fact is related to the Hebrew noun “priest”, as well (cf. BDB, p. 464).

62:1 “give quiet”: the MT reads “be quiet”.

“kingdoms” is the reading of B.M. 1474, 1470, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College. The reading of B.M. 2211 is singular, but cf. the regular usage in the Tg (van Zijl, p. 106).

“the dawn” (*šprpr*) is the reading of all extant witnesses except B.M. 2211, which reads “the choice field” (*špr br*). This is probably an error (so Stenning, p. 207, *pace* Sperber, p. 122, van Zijl, pp. 32, 196). The variant is possible, but in view of 58:8, the majority reading should probably be accepted here.

62:2 “The Gentiles”: “all” precedes in B.M. 2211 alone, but cf. above for the scribal unreliability of this witness in the present section.

“they shall call”: the MT reads the participle, masculine singular.

62:4 “pleasure” (*r’w’*): the MT employs the equivalent verb (*hps*, cf. Young III, p. 467).

62:5 “just as”: the comparison is only implied in the MT.

62:6 “continually” renders both texts.

“remembrance” in the Tg is a noun, while the form in the MT is verbal.

62:7 “a praise”: the definite article is used here in the First and Second Rabbinic Bibles, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Ms. Jews’ College.

62:8 “sons of” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 470).

ashamed who were boasting in their lot; therefore in their land they shall possess two for one: theirs shall be everlasting joy. 61.8 *For I the LORD love judgment, despised before me are deceit and oppression: I will in truth give them a reward of their deeds, and I will make an eternal covenant with them.* 61.9 *Their sons shall be exalted among the Gentiles, and their sons' sons in the midst of the kingdoms; all who see them will acknowledge them, that they are the seed whom the LORD has blessed.* 61.10 *Jerusalem said, I will greatly rejoice in the Memra of the LORD, my soul shall exult in the salvation of my God; for he has clothed me with garments of salvation, he has wrapped me with a robe of virtue, as the bridegroom who prospers in his canopy, and as the high priest who is prepared in his garments, and as the bride who is adorned with her ornaments.* 61.11 *For as the earth which brings forth its growth, and as a channelled garden which increases what is sown in it, so the LORD God will disclose the virtue and the praise of Jerusalem before all the Gentiles.*

CHAPTER 62

62.1 *Until I accomplish salvation for Zion, I will not give rest to the Gentiles, and until I bring consolation for Jerusalem, I will not give quiet to the kingdoms; until her light is revealed as the dawn, and her salvation burns as a torch.* 62.2 *The Gentiles shall see your innocence, and all the kings your glory; and they shall call you by the new name which by his Memra the LORD will make clear.* 62.3 *You shall be a diadem of joy before the LORD, and a crown of praise before your God.* 62.4 *You shall no more be termed Forsaken, and your land shall no more be termed Desolate; but you shall be called, Those who do my pleasure in her, and your land Inhabitant; for there shall be pleasure before the LORD in you, and your land shall be inhabited.* 62.5 *For just as a young man cohabits with a virgin, so shall your sons co-inhabit in your midst, and just as the bridegroom rejoices with the bride, so shall your God rejoice over you.* 62.6 *Behold, the deeds of your fathers, the righteous, O city of Jerusalem, are prepared and watched before me; all the day and all the night continually they do not cease. The remembrance of your benefits is spoken of before the LORD, it does not cease,* 62.7 *and their remembrance shall not cease before him until he establishes Jerusalem and makes it a praise in the earth.* 62.8 *The LORD has sworn by his right hand and by his strong arm: "I will not again give your grain to be food for your enemies, and the sons*

Notes

61:1-61:11 The explicit focus on "Jerusalem" is maintained (vv. 10, 11, cf. chapter 60) as the recipient of "prophecy" (v. 1). The language of the promise in v. 7 picks up an idiom introduced in 40:2, although it is applied in a different way. More importantly, the "diadem" of v. 3 is reminiscent of 28:5, and may be taken as alluding to the place of the Messiah in the restoration of Jerusalem (cf. chapter 53). There is certainly an emphasis on the total defeat of "the Gentiles" (cf. vv. 6, 7, 9, 11) which is consistent with the messianic teaching of the Tg (cf. 16:1), and the rebuilding of the Temple—one of the Messiah's functions (53:5)—is presupposed in v. 10. Even the term "canopy" (v. 10) may allude to a new situation, in which the Shekhinah is restored (cf. 4:5).

62:1-62:12 In respect of both Jerusalem (cf. vv. 1, 6, 7—all as in the MT) and the "Gentiles" (cf. vv. 1, 2, 8; and "peoples" [in both texts] at v. 10) the themes of this passage carry on smoothly from the last chapter. The "diadem" of v. 3, however, does not appear to carry the full messianic significance which is apparent in 28:5, and which may be

of *Gentiles* shall not drink your wine for which you have laboured; 62.9 but those who garner *the grain* shall eat it and give praise *before* the LORD; and those who *press the wine* will drink it in my holy courts. 62.10 *Prophets*, go through and return by the gates, turn *the heart of* the people *to a correct way*; *announce good reports and consolations to the righteous who have removed the impulsive fantasy which is like a stone of stumbling*, lift up an ensign over the peoples. 62.11 Behold, the LORD has proclaimed to the end of the earth: Say to the *congregation* of Zion, “Behold, your *saviour is revealed*; behold, *the reward of those accomplishing his Memra* is with him, and *all their deeds are disclosed* before him.” 62.12 And they shall be called The holy people, The redeemed of the LORD; and you shall be called Sought out, a city *which is not forsaken*.

CHAPTER 63

63.1 *He is about to bring a stroke upon Edom, a strong avenger upon Bozrah, to take the just retribution of his people, just as he swore to them by his Memra. He said, Behold, I am revealed-just as I spoke-in virtue, there is great force before me to save.* 63.2 *Why will mountains be red from the blood of those killed, and plains gush forth like wine in the press?* 63.3 *“Behold, as grapes trodden in the press, so shall slaughter increase among the armies of the peoples, and their will be no strength for them before me; I will kill them in my anger and trample them in my wrath; I will break the strength of their strong ones before me, and I will annihilate all their wise ones.* 63.4 *For the day*

Apparatus

62:10 “by” and “turn” render both texts.

“removed” (*slq*) and “stumbling” (*tql'*) are related by word play to “clear” (*sqh*) in the MT.

62:11 “and (*all*)” becomes “because” in B.M. 1470, 1474, the Antwerp Polyglot, Reuchlinianus, and Ms. Jews’ College.

63:1 “*He*” becomes “He who says these things” in all witnesses except B.M. 2211 and 1470. The less plain reading of these two British Museum manuscripts should probably not be set aside; the additional phrase might be a gloss.

“spoke”: the MT has “speaking” (cf. Young III, p. 475).

“in” renders both texts (and “righteousness” follows in the MT).

“great” is also in the MT (RSV: “mighty”).

“force” is derived from “strength” (*kh*) earlier in the MT (cf. also “strong” in the Tg).

63:3 “*the press*”: the noun here used differs from v. 2 in the MT, while the same word is used in the Tg.

63:5 “*saved*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 475).

63:6 “*to*” represents the same preposition (‘/*l*) rendered “on” in the RSV.

63:8 “*who*” is omitted in B.M. 2211 and the Antwerp Polyglot. The latter witness, and the inclusion of the term in B.M. 1470 and 1474, would suggest the omission represents accommodation to the MT.

63:9 “*every*” represents the same word rendered “all” in the RSV.

“he did not afflict”: cf. the RSV margin.

63:11 “*his people*” is the reading of both texts (cf. Young III, p. 479).

“*them*” (after “brought”) is the reading of both texts, but “*among them*” replaces “in his midst” in the MT.

63:12 “*reed sea*”: cf. 43:2.

63:14 “*them*” is collective in the MT (cf. Young III, p. 479).

of vengeance is before me, and the year of my peoples's salvation has come. 63.5 It was disclosed before me, but there was no man whose deeds were good; it was known before me, but there was no person who would arise and beseech concerning them; so I saved them by my strong arm, and by the Memra of my pleasure I helped them. 63.6 I will kill the peoples in my anger, I will trample them in my wrath, and I will cast to the lower earth those of their mighty men who are killed." 63.7 The prophet said, I am recounting the *benefits* of the LORD, the praises of the LORD, according to all that the LORD has granted us, and his great goodness to the house of Israel which he has granted them according to his mercy, according to the abundance of his *benefits*. 63.8 For he said, Surely they are my people, sons who will not deal falsely; and his *Memra* became their Saviour. 63.9 In every time that they sinned before him so as to bring affliction upon themselves, he did not afflict them, an angel sent from him saved them; in his love and in his pity upon them he delivered them; he lifted them up and carried them all the days of old. 63.10 But they rebelled and incited to anger against the *Memra* of his holy prophets; therefore his *Memra* was turned to be an enemy, and he himself battled against them. 63.11 Then he had pity for the glory of his name, for the sake of the remembrance of his *benefits* which were from of old, the prodigies which he did by the hands of Moses for his people that they might not say, Where is he who brought them up out of the sea, where is he who led them in the wilderness as the shepherd his flock? Where is he who made the *Memra* of his holy prophets dwell among them, 63.12 who led with his glorious arm at the right hand of Moses, who divided the waters of the reed sea from before them to make for himself an everlasting name, 63.13 who led them through the depths? Like the horse which in the desert does not stumble, so even they did not stumble. 63.14 Like cattle which are led in the plain, the *Memra* of the LORD led them. So you led your people, to make for yourself a glorious name. 63.15 Look down from the heavens and be revealed from your holy and glorious dwelling. Where are your *retribution* and your might? The multitude of your *benefits* and the abundance of your compassion upon us are hardened. 63.16 For you are he whose mercies upon us are more than a father's upon sons, for Abraham did not take us up from Egypt and Israel did not do wonders for us in the wilderness; you, O LORD, are he whose mercies upon us are more than a father's upon sons, our Redeemer from of old

Notes

discerned in 61:3. In v. 10, it might be mentioned the term *yr* ("impulse", here translated as an adjectival usage in view of its relation to "fantasy") coheres with Jewish psychological language from the time of Qumran through the rabbinic period (cf. Sandmel [1978] 179f.).

63:1–63:19 It is striking that "Edom" does not here occasion a reference to Rome (cf. 34:9), even though military "retribution" is the principal issue (vv. 1–3). But it may be that Rome is understood as a matter of course, in accordance with Amoraic interpretative habit (cf. 34:9 in the Notes and Grelot [1963] 373). In v. 5 (cf. also v. 9), there is a clear back reference to the apparently non-messianic theology of vindication which is characteristic of the later meturgeman (cf. 59:16). (On the other hand, the reference to "the lower earth" in v. 6 might be considered by scholars of the New Testament in respect of Ephesians 4:9.) The strong exodus typology of vv. 11, 12 is obviously occasioned by the reference to Moses in the MT, but it is already familiar to us as a motif in the Tg (cf. 43:2, and—for the language of "prodigies"—10:26; 24:14). But the language of "prodigies" and "benefits" is also applied to Abraham in 29:23, and this may explain why in v. 16 the meturgeman takes the patriarch within

is your name. 63.17 O LORD, why *will* you *despise* us, to err from ways which are correct before you as the *Gentiles* who have no portion in the teaching of your law? Let not our heart be turned from your fear; return your *Shekhinah* to your people for the sake of your servants, the *righteous*, to whom you swore by your *Memra* to make among them the tribes of your heritage. 63.18 For a little while your holy people possessed your sanctuary; our enemies have trodden it down. 63.19 Behold, we are your people who are from of old. You did not give your law to the *Gentiles*, your name is not called upon them.

CHAPTER 64

64.1 *Not for them did you incline the heavens and reveal yourself; before you the mountains shook.* 64.2 *When you sent your wrath in fire the sea melted and fire licked the waters, to make your name known to the adversaries of your people; before you the Gentiles trembled!* 64.3 *When you did wonders which we looked not for, you were revealed; the mountains shook before you.* 64.4 *From of old ear has not heard [such] a mighty sound or listened to [such] shaking speech, no eye has seen what your people have seen: the Shekhinah of your glory, O LORD. For there is none besides you, who are about to work for your people, the righteous, who hope for your deliverance.* 64.5 *The deeds of our righteous fathers are summoned before you, who rejoiced to perform your pleasure in truth and in innocence, they were remembering your fear in the way of your goodness and mercy. Behold in every time there was anger from you upon us because we sinned, by them, by the deeds of our righteous fathers who were from of old, we were saved.* 64.6 *We have all become like one who is unclean, and all our virtues are like a despised garment. We all fade like a leaf fades, and before our sins, like the wind, we are taken away.* 64.7 *There is no one who prays in your name, that is pleased to take hold of your fear; for you have taken up the face of your Shekhinah*

Apparatus

63:17 “will”: both texts are imperfect in form, but the Targumic usage is more emphatically future.
 “from your fear” renders both texts (cf. Young).
 “return”: the Targumic reading is innovatively causative.

63:19 “we are...from of old” represents both texts (cf. Young III, p. 489).

64:1 is appended to 63:19 in the Hebrew and Aramaic texts.

64:4 “has not heard” is plural in the MT; otherwise the syntax is the same in both texts.
 “listened” renders both texts (cf. BDB, p. 24).
 “who are” is the reading of all extant witnesses except B.M. 2211, which here accommodates slightly (with “who is”) to the MT.

64:5 “they” also renders the MT (cf. Young III, p. 492).
 “by them” and “of old” are in the MT (cf. Young); the translators of the RSV paraphrase here.

64:11 “valuable”: all the extant witnesses other than B.M. 2211 add “house”.
 “has” and “a ruin” render both texts (cf. Young III, p. 496).

64:12 “against” is not innovative, except in relation to the preceding verb (cf. Young III, p. 496).

65:3 “against” represents ‘l, which is present in both texts.

65:4 “in” is present in the Tg, and supplied in the RSV.

65:6 “theirs is” is the reading of B.M. 2211 and the First Rabbinic Bible. The other witnesses read “I will repay them” with inconsistent orthography and diction, which suggests it represents accommodation to the MT.

from us, and *handed us over* into the hand of our *sins*. 64.8 Yet, O LORD, whose *mercies upon us are more than a father's upon sons*, we are the clay and you are our *creator*; we are all the work of your *might*. 64.9 *Let there not be anger before you*, O LORD, *against us* exceedingly, and remember not *sins* for ever. Behold, *it is disclosed before you*, we are all your people. 64.10 Your holy cities have become a wilderness, Zion has become a wilderness, Jerusalem is desolate. 64.11 Our holy and beautiful house, *the place where our fathers served before you*, has been burned by fire, and our *every valuable* has become a ruin. 64.12 Will you *be hard* against these things, O LORD? You *have given respite to the wicked, even those who subjugate us sorely*.

CHAPTER 65

65.1 I was *asked of by my Memra* by those who did not [truly] ask *before me*; I sought *teaching of my law* from those who did not seek *my fear*. I said, “Here am I,” *asked of continually all the day*, to a *people who did not pray* in my name. 65.2 I sent my *prophets* all the day to the *rebellious people*, who walk in a way that is not *correct*, following their own *conceptions*; 65.3 a *people who incite to anger* against my *Memra before me* continually, sacrificing in *your gardens of the idols* and *offering up spices* upon bricks; 65.4 who sit in *the houses they build from the dust of tombs*, and *reside with the corpses of the sons of men*; who eat swine's flesh, and abominable broth is *in* their vessels; 65.5 who say, “*Get behind, do not come near me, for I am more clean than you*.” These, *their anger is as smoke before me, their retribution is in Gehenna where the fire burns all the day*. 65.6 Behold, it is written before me: “I will not give

Notes

the context of the exodus. “*Israel*” there is also taken as the person, and the idea of his involvement with wonders (cf. Pseudo-Jonathan, Genesis 28:10f.) is alluded to. At the close of the chapter, however, the gift of the law (vv. 17, 19, cf. 28:9, 10), rather than the patriarchal benefits, is the basis of the apparently Tannaitic appeal for the return of the Shekhinah (v. 17, cf. 60:2).

64:1–64:12 The comparison between Israel and the Gentiles is taken immediately from the last chapter (v. 1, cf. 63:19), and the exodus motif is probably invoked in v. 3 (cf. 63:11, 12). The treatment of v. 4 is extensive, but it is not surprising, when one considers this passage was considered by the Rabbis to prove that God planned an unimaginable reward for Israel (cf. Exodus Rabbah 30.24; Shabbath 63a). But the meturgeman does not limit the vision to the prophet: the Shekhinah is seen by “*your people*”. The immediacy of the early hope for the return of the Shekhinah (cf. 63:17) is probably articulated in this passage. The idea of patriarchal blessings comes to expression again in v. 5 (cf. 29:23; 43:7; 62:6); indeed, it is the strongest expression of the idea of the “merits of the fathers” in the Tg (for a general description of the idea, cf. Sanders [1977] 183–198). But 62:6 makes it quite plain that these benefits are not automatic: Israel's vocation is to align himself with the patriarchs, in which position the blessings of the patriarchs are available to him. In any case, 63:16 guards against any notion that the patriarchs are beneficial apart from God. Finally, there is reference to the presently desperate position: without prayer (v. 7), parted from the Shekhinah (v. 7), subjugated (v. 12), Israel can only hope.

65:1–65:12 As the Tg begins to draw to a close, the central complaint against Israel, that the prophetic teaching of the law has been rejected, is voiced again (vv. 1–3, 7). The particular reference in v. 4 seems to be Tiberias, which was erected on the site of a cemetery by Herod Antipas in the teeth of Jewish objections (cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.2.3 § 36–38 and Churgin [1927] 25; Gordon [1978] 125; van der Kooij [1981] 170; Smolar and Aberbach [1983] 68). It is against those who tolerate such practices that “*Gehenna*” is prepared (v. 5, cf. 30:33), and “*the second death*” is threatened (v. 6, cf. 22:14). “*Noah*” is cited as a particular example of righteousness in v. 8; he was esteemed as

them respite while they live, but theirs is the retribution of their sins; I will hand over their bodies to the second death. 65.7 Your sins and the sins of your fathers are disclosed before me together, says the LORD; because they offered up spices upon the mountains and reviled before me upon the hills, I will give the reward of their deeds at the first into their bosom.” 65.8 Thus says the LORD: “As Noah who was found innocent in the generation of the flood, and I promised not to destroy him in order to establish the world from him, so I will do for my servants, the righteous’, sake, in order not to destroy all. 65.9 I brought forth from Jacob a seed, and from Judah an inheritor of my mountains; my chosen shall possess it, and my servants, the righteous, shall dwell there. 65.10 Sharon shall become a dwelling place for flocks of sheep and the plain of Achor for herds of cattle to lie down, for my people who have sought my fear. 65.11 But you, house of Israel, have forsaken the service of the LORD, you have forgotten the service of my holy mountain, who set tables for idols and mix bowls for their gods. 65.12 I will hand you over to the sword, and all of you will be handed over to the slaughter; because, when I sent my prophets, you did not repent, when they prophesied, you did not attend, but you did what was evil before me, and took pleasure in what I did not wish.”

65.13 Therefore thus says the *LORD God*: “Behold, my servants, the righteous, shall eat, but you, the wicked, shall be hungry; behold, my servants, the righteous, shall drink, but you, the wicked, shall be thirsty; behold, my servants, the righteous, shall rejoice, but you shall be put to shame; 65.14 behold, my servants, the righteous, shall sing from goodness of heart, but you shall cry from pain of heart, and shall wail from breaking of spirit. 65.15 You shall leave your name to my chosen for an oath, and the *LORD God* will slay you with the second death; but his servants, the righteous, he will call by a different name. 65.16 He who blesses in the land shall bless by the living God, and he who takes an oath in the land shall swear by the living God; because the former troubles shall be forgotten and hid from before me. 65.17 For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered or be brought into mind. 65.18 But they will be glad in the age of the ages which I create; for behold, I create Jerusalem gladness, and her people rejoicing. 65.19 I will be glad in Jerusalem

Apparatus

65:7 “first” is in the MT (cf. Young III, p. 507; RSV: “former”).
 “into” is misplaced (before “reward”) in B.M. 2211 alone (cf. Stenning, p. 214).

65:9 “brought” is the reading of B.M. 2211 and Reuchlinianus. The other witnesses accord with the tense of the MT.
 “seed” and “inheritor” render both texts (cf. Young III, p. 506).

65:13 “you” (on the last occasion): B.M. 1474, the Second Rabbinic Bible, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Reuchlinianus add “the wicked” here, but perhaps out of habit.

65:14 “from goodness of heart” and “from breaking” render both texts (cf. Young III, p. 506).

65:15 “oath” might also be rendered “covenant”; the point would remain that the memory of the wicked will testify to God’s just vindication.

65:18 “be glad”: an equivalent of “rejoice” (cf. the RSV; the presence of a synonym is the issue, not the precise diction) is only omitted in B.M. 2211 of the extant witnesses.

65:19 “not”: “no more” (cf. the RSV) is read by all the extant witnesses except B.M. 2211.

and my people will rejoice in *her*; the sound of those who weep and the sound of those who cry shall not be heard in her. 65.20 No more shall there be a *suckling* that lives but a few days, or an old man who does not fill out his days, for a *youth who sins* shall be *dying* a hundred years old, and the sinner a hundred years old shall be *expelled*. 65.21 They shall build houses and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and eat their fruit. 65.22 They shall not build and others inhabit; they shall not plant and others eat; for like the days of the tree of *life* shall the days of my people be, and my chosen shall wear out the work of their hands. 65.23 They shall not be weary in vain, or bring up children for *death*; for they shall be the seed which the LORD blessed, and their *sons' sons* with them. 65.24 Before they *pray before me* I will accept their *prayer*, and before they *beseech before me* I will do their *request*. 65.25 *The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like an ox; and dust shall be the serpent's food.* They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, says the LORD.”

Notes

a just man among the Tannaim (cf. Moore [1, 1946] 400 and Genesis 6:9) and renowned as the inventor of wine (cf. the MT of Is. 65:8 and Genesis 9:20, 21). But “*the house of Israel*” is rather globally accused of having forsaken the LORD’s “*service*” (v. 11) and of having rejected the prophetic witness (v. 12).

65:13–25 The challenging accusation against Israel, which is quite unlike the later idea of their being ready penitents (cf. 57:19 in the Notes), becomes a demand to choose between belonging to “*the righteous*” (vv. 13, 14, 15) or not. “*The second death*” is threatened on the one hand (v. 15, cf. v. 23, and v. 6 above), while a restored, prayerful relationship with God is promised on the other hand (v. 24, cf. 1:18; 58:9).

CHAPTER 66

66.1 Thus says the LORD: “The heavens are *the throne of my glory* and the earth is a *highway before me*; what is the house which you would build *before me*, and what is the place of the dwelling of my *Shekhinah*? 66.2 All these things my *might* has made, did not all these things come to be, says the LORD? But in this man *there is pleasure before me to regard him*, he that is poor and *humble* in spirit, and trembles at my word. 66.3 He who slaughters *an ox* is *like* him who kills a man; he who sacrifices *a lamb*, *like* him who *bludgeons* a dog: he who presents an offering, [like him who offers] swine's blood; *their offering of gifts is a gift of oppression*. They have *taken pleasure* in their own ways, and their soul *takes pleasure* in their abominations. 66.4 Even I will *wish breaking* for them, and from what they *dreaded they will not be delivered*; because, when I *sent my prophets, they did not repent*, when *they prophesied they did not attend*; but they did what is evil *before me*, and *took pleasure in that which I did not wish*. 66.5 Listen to the word of the LORD, you *righteous* who tremble at the words of his *pleasure*: “Your brethren, your *adversaries* who *despise* you for my name's sake say, ‘Let the *glory of the LORD increase*, that we may see your joy’; but it is they who shall

Apparatus

66:1 “highway”: the term *kybš* could be rendered “footstool”, but the word is here translated as an innovation, in accordance with the normal usage of the Tg (cf. van Zijl, p. 85).

A marginal addition in Reuchlinianus reads:

The prophecy of Isaiah, which he prophesied at the end of his prophecy, in the days of Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, king of the tribe of the house of Judah, on the seventeenth of Tammuz, at the time Manasseh erected the image in the Temple. He prophesied to the people of the house of Israel: Thus says the LORD, The heavens are the throne of my glory. Why are you proud before me in this house, which was built by King Solomon to my name? The upper and lower heavens are not ready to bear the Shekhinah of my glory. When it is said, By Solomon (this Temple is built) — behold, the heavens, and the heavens of the heavens, are not able to bear the Shekhinah of my glory, and shall this house that you built? Now there is no pleasure before me in it, because you provoked to anger before me. For that reason, behold, the decree has gone out before me to make Nebuchadnezzar come, and he will devastate it, and exile you from the city of Jerusalem. When Manasseh heard Isaiah's words of chastisement, he was filled with wrath against him. He said to his servants, Run after him, seize him; they ran after him, to seize him. He fled from before them, and a carob tree opened its mouth and swallowed him. They brought workmen with iron tools, and they sawed the tree until Isaiah's blood flowed like water. This is what is written, Manasseh also shed innocent blood in great abundance, until he filled Jerusalem from end to end. This is apart from the sins he himself did, and caused Israel and those of the house of Judah to do, so as to do evil before the LORD. For he killed Isaiah, who was reproving them, and said, Do not cherish the thought that this house was built in virtue of you! The Holy One, blessed be he, made his Shekhinah dwell in it only for the virtues of your fathers, the righteous. But in that time the LORD said, The heavens are the throne of my glory, and the earth a stool before me. What is the house you would build for my name, and what is my Shekhinah's place of habitation?

66:2 “did... come to be”: cf. the RSV margin.

66:8 “moment”: the MT would better be rendered “stroke” (cf. BDB, pp. 821, 822).

66:12 “peace” and “glory” render both texts (cf. Young III, p. 525).

66:14 “he will” renders both texts (cf. Young III, p. 525).

66:15 “the strength of” becomes “in the strength of” in all witnesses except B.M. 2211, but this appears to represent accommodation to the MT.

66:18 “it is”: cf. the RSV margin. The witnesses apart from B.M. 2211 and Reuchlinianus have “I am” here. Despite the disagreement of the MT, this should probably be seen as a secondary, interpretative addition (cf. the LXX, Ziegler, p. 368). In the more original reading, “it” refers impersonally to punishment.

66:19 “and shoot” is the reading of B.M. 2211 alone. The other extant witnesses have “strike”. Since the active usage of *sd'* in B.M. 2211 is a *hapax legomenon*, it might be considered a later, learned correction. Similarly, in B.M. 1470 “draw” is replaced with “bend” (cf. 22:3).

be put to shame. 66.6 A sound of tumult from *the city of Jerusalem!* A voice from *the temple!* The voice of *the Memra* of the LORD, rendering recompense to his enemies. 66.7 Before *distress comes to her* she shall be *delivered*; and before *shaking* will come upon her, *as pains upon a woman in travail, her king will be revealed.* 66.8 Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things? *Is it possible that a land shall be made in one day? Shall its people be created in one moment?* For *Zion is about to be comforted and to be filled with the people of her exiles.* 66.9 *I, God, created the world from creation*, says the LORD; *I created every man; I scattered them among the peoples; I am also about to gather your exiles*, says your God. 66.10 Rejoice in Jerusalem and be glad for her, all you who love her; rejoice with her in joy, all you who were mourning over her, 66.11 that you may be *indulged* and be satisfied with the *plunder* of her consolations; that you may *drink and be drunk with the wine of her glory.*" 66.12 For thus says the LORD: "Behold, I bring peace to her like *the overflowing of the Euphrates* river, and the glory of the *Gentiles* like a swelling stream; and you shall be *indulged*, you shall be carried upon hips, and *exalted* upon knees. 66.13 As one whom his mother comforts, so *my Memra* will comfort you; you shall be comforted in Jerusalem. 66.14 You shall see, and your heart shall rejoice; your *bodies* shall flourish like grasses; and the *might* of the LORD shall be *revealed to do good to his servants, the righteous*, and he will bring a curse to his enemies. 66.15 For behold, the LORD is *revealed* in fire, and his chariots like the stormwind, to render the *strength* of his anger, and his rebuke with a flame of fire. 66.16 For by fire, and by his sword, the LORD is *about to judge all flesh*; and those slain *before* the LORD shall be many. 66.17 Those who *join* and purify themselves for *your gardens of the idols, company* following *company*, eating swine's flesh and the abomination and the mouse, shall come to an end together, says the LORD. 66.18 For *before me* their works and their conceptions are *disclosed*, and it is *about* to gather all *the peoples and the nations and the tongues*; and they shall come and shall see my glory, 66.19 and I will set a sign among them. And from them I will send survivors *among the Gentiles, to the province of the sea, the Puleans, and the Ludeans, who draw and shoot with the bow, to the province of Tubal and Javan, the islands, those afar off, who have not heard the fame of my might or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles.* 66.20 And they shall

Notes

66:1-66:24 The final chapter of the Tg focuses squarely on the issue of the Shekhinah in the sanctuary (vv. 1, 20). Once again, its return, not merely the assurance of its existence in heaven, is at issue (cf. 64:4), and the reference to the Shekhinah is associated with a demand for repentance which takes the form of a complaint that it has not been forthcoming (v. 4, cf. 28:10). The realistic hope of Zion (v. 8) also centers on a messianic "king" (v. 7, cf. 16:5; 28:5, and the different usage of the image at 32:1). But this early interpretation has also been augmented by an Amoraic meturgeman, who includes a slogan (v. 9, cf. 46:4; in both cases, cf. Genesis 11:1-9) and a geographical reference (v. 12, cf. 11:15; 27:12; 48:18; 55:19). The Tg closes, however, with a vision of the fate of the "wicked", whose wording concerning "Gehenna" may lie behind a saying of Jesus' (cf. Mark 9:48 and Chilton [1984] 101f.).

bring all your brethren from all the *Gentiles* as an offering *before* the LORD, with horses and with chariots, and with *ewes*, and with mules, and with *songs*, upon my holy mountain, *to* Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the sons of Israel will bring an offering in a clean vessel to the *sanctuary* of the LORD. 66.21 And some of them I will *bring near to become* priests and Levites, says the LORD. 66.22 For as the new heavens and the new earth which I am making stand before me, says the LORD, shall your seed and your name *be established*. 66.23 From new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all *the sons of* flesh shall come to worship before me, says the LORD. 66.24 And they shall go forth and look on the bodies of the *sinful* men who have rebelled against *my Memra*; for their *breaths* will not die and their fire shall not be quenched, and *the wicked* shall be judged in *Gehenna* until *the righteous* will say concerning them, *We have seen enough.*"

Apparatus

66:22 "be established" derives from the same root as "stand" earlier in the verse.

INDICES

The compilation of exhaustive indices has been precluded by the intended scope of the series, but selective reference is here made to the usage of primary sources, secondary contributions, and Targumic themes. Primary sources and secondary contributions are only listed when they are discussed (not merely mentioned) in order to elucidate the Targum. There is a great deal more material in the Apparatus and Notes than is indexed, but the items given will provide the student a degree of access to the interstices between the Targum and other literature. (A fuller listing is in any case available in *The Glory of Israel*). Similarly, the index of subjects is deliberately not exhaustive, since the individual occurrences of terms may be traced in van Zijl's concordance. Rather, only notable explications or developments of Targumic motifs are in view.

Index of Primary Sources

THE HEBREW BIBLE,

AND RELATED DOCUMENTS

Genesis 28:10f. (Pseudo-Jonathan): 123
 Exodus 15:18 (Onqelos): 49
 Exodus 24:10 (MT): 15
 Jeremiah 26:20-23 (MT): 19
 Jeremiah 48:34 (Jonathan): 34
 Zechariah 3:8 (MT): 85
 2 Chronicles 20:20 (MT): 17
 Tobit 13:10; 14:5: xxvi
 Psalms of Solomon 7:27-29: 105
 Damascus Document VII.15; XIX.34; XX.12: 37

RABBINICA

Talmud Babli
 Berakhoth 34b: 113
 Pesahim 68a: xxviii
 Rosh Hashannah 23a: 66
 Megillah 3a: xxi
 Kiddushin 49a: 15
 Sanhedrin 94b: xxviii
 Avoth 1:2 111
 Sifre 131: 105
 Pesiqta Rabbati 30:2: 85

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew 7:2: xxvi, 53
 26:52: xxvi, 99
 Mark 4:12: xxvi, 15
 4:24: xxvi, 53
 9:48: xxvi, 127
 Luke 4:18, 19: 83
 24:5: 21
 1 Corinthians 1:20: 9
 Ephesians 4:9: 121
 1 Timothy 2:9: 9
 1 Peter 3:3: 9
 Revelation 2:11; 20:6, 14; 21:8: 45, 125

Index of Secondary Contributions

P. Churgin, xxiii, 43
 G.H. Dalman, 8, 32, 40, 62, 102
 Z. Frankel, xxviii
 R.P. Gordon, 39
 P. Humbert, 105

M. Jastrow, 16, 26, 32, 34, 40, 50, 51
 A. van der Kooij, xxii, xxiii, 45, 54, 55
 P. de Lagarde, 26, 54

S.H. Levey, 21, 28
 J. Levy, 10, 16, 26, 28, 32, 34, 40, 64
 M. McNamara, 28
 J. Neusner, 43, 93

L. Smolar and M. Aberbach, xxii, xxiii, 27, 39, 43, 55, 101	J. Starcky, 117	90, 104
A. Sperber, xxx, xxxii, 18, 40	J.F. Stenning, xxx, xxxii, xxxiv, 2, 8, 10, 16, 26, 32, 34, 40, 42, 46, 50, 54, 58, 68, 70, 86,	D. Winton Thomas, 64, 98, 100
		E.J. Young, 34

Index of Targumic Subjects

Abraham 10, 79, 85, 92, 95, 100	75, 98, 101, 105, 107, 109, 119, 127	112, 118
Babylon 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 76, 77, 85, 88, 92	Judah 2, 17, 28, 29, 51, 71, 74, 94	repentance 3, 12, 20, 22, 23, 26, 36, 42, 51, 55, 56, 66, 82, 83, 99, 111, 112, 124, 126
Euphrates 29, 53, 95, 115, 127	kingdom of God 49, 62, 77, 102	the righteous 12, 28, 36, 47, 48, 51, 60, 63, 78, 112, 124, 128
exile(s) 15, 20, 52, 54, 55, 56, 70, 84, 91, 97, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111, 127	law 2, 3, 12, 21, 51, 69, 105, 112	salvation 51, 90, 92, 100, 121
fear 3, 65, 87, 96, 107, 116, 123	those who perform the law 5, 10, 21, 52, 55, 56, 83, 104	the sanctuary 14, 44, 48, 54, 55, 60, 61, 64, 75, 104, 128
Gehenna 52, 61, 66, 123, 128	teaching of law 6, 51, 58, 59, 86, 123	scribe 8, 22, 54
glory 7, 10, 14, 36, 49, 70, 121	Memra 3, 4, 15, 19, 29, 51, 52, 58, 61, 69, 80, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 115, 121, 122	servant 80, 81, 96, 103, 124
holy spirit 78, 81, 87	Messiah 10, 21, 28, 33, 35, 54, 103, 104	service 3, 26, 36, 55, 86, 89, 96, 100, 101, 102, 108, 115, 124
idolatry 5, 7, 20, 78, 87, 88, 91	prophecy/prophesy 11, 15, 18, 55, 56, 58, 77, 118	Shekhinah 3, 10, 14, 20, 36, 52, 55, 60, 61, 66, 109, 111, 114, 122, 126
islands 7, 28, 46, 79, 82, 115	prophet(s) 10, 11, 16, 20, 41, 42, 44, 48, 55, 56, 59,	sinner(s) 28, 32, 56, 68, 107
Israel 10, 22, 80, 94		son(s) of man/men 15, 49, 58, 65, 87, 90, 92
house of Israel 2, 10, 11, 16, 21, 32, 52, 55, 56, 69, 81, 101, 124		
Jerusalem 4, 10, 35, 49, 60, 66,		